



LIFE OF MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR JOHN ARDAGH

mgx

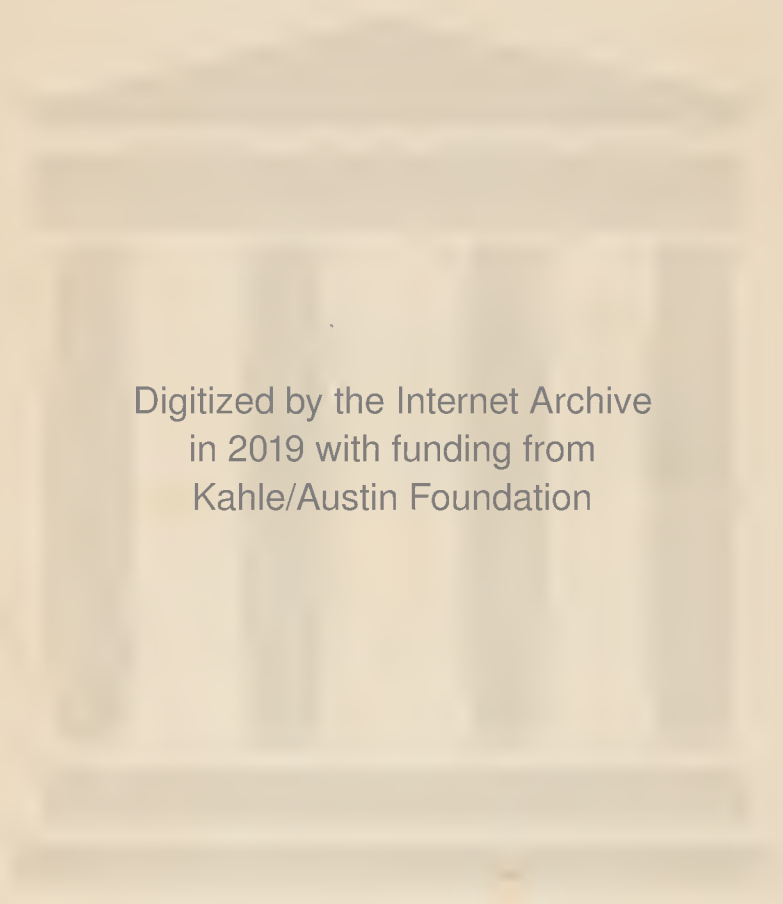
NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE



TRENT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



THE LIFE OF
MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR JOHN ARDAGH



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation



J. Russell & Sons. photo

Emery Walker. In. 50

J. L. Ardagh.

THE LIFE OF
MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR JOHN ARDAGH

BY HIS WIFE
SUSAN COUNTESS OF MALMESBURY
(LADY ARDAGH)

WITH PORTRAITS; AND ILLUSTRATIONS
FROM DRAWINGS BY SIR JOHN ARDAGH

“A man who cares for wealth, or who fears death, is the slave of others. A man who is indifferent to them is free and their master.”—CHARLES GORDON,

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1909

DA 565 A72 A7

PRINTED BY
HAZELL, WATSON AND VINEY, LD.,
LONDON AND AYLESBURY.

PREFACE

IN these pages I have tried to follow, not only the chief events in an unusual career, but the evolution of a remarkable personality, as well as to show the ascendancy which may be gained by selfless devotion to duty and sterling character backed by a powerful intellect, without the adventitious aid of great family connections or moneyed influence.

As regards character, I would call attention, firstly, to the saving of the ship *Victoria* with six hundred men on board, in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, by John Ardagh, then a lieutenant of twenty-one—an achievement which is not yet forgotten at Chatham in the course of the instruction given there to young officers.

Secondly, during the disastrous attempt to relieve Khartum by the Nile Route, I would note his loyal and unremitting exertions, as Commandant of the Base at Cairo, to supply the needs of the Expedition, after the advice, strongly pressed upon the Government by Sir Frederick Stephenson, Colonel Ardagh himself and other experienced officers, had been disregarded and they themselves set aside.

Thirdly, to the example of self-command, self-sacrifice and submission to discipline shown by him many years later as a Major-General,

when unjustly accused of neglecting to supply information respecting the strength and armament of the Boers at the time of the South African War.

Sir John Ardagh was a soldier-diplomat, an international lawyer, a financier, a mathematician, an architect, an astronomer and an artist. His life was therefore a singularly full and varied one, for his natural versatility enabled him to turn to any subject, no matter how abstruse and technical, which bore upon the work he had in hand.

He had a facile pen and wrote a clear hand, without alteration or erasure, and his papers show that he had studied many languages—French, German, Italian, Spanish, Turkish, Arabic, Hindustani, Latin, and Greek, both ancient and modern.

He had travelled nearly all over the world.

He was reserved and silent ; cold, perhaps, to strangers, but warm-hearted to his friends, and, although a man of the world and a soldier, had the guileless disposition of a child.

He cared for the sick and wounded in war, and to animals, even under the pressure of the necessities of a campaign, he was merciful and kind.

The lodestar of his life was work, and the rule by which his actions were guided was a saying of General Charles Gordon's : "A man who cares for wealth or who fears death is the slave of others. A man who is indifferent to them is free and their master."

On being asked what advice he would give to a young soldier under fire for the first time, he replied: "Forget your miserable self and think only of your duty; then fear cannot enter your heart."

He served his country from the age of eighteen to the day of his death, remaining on active service for forty-three years, thirteen of which were spent abroad, in Turkey, Egypt and India. During thirty-one years he was employed by the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office and the Treasury, to whom he acted on many occasions as confidential expert adviser. "I am in a more fortunate position," he wrote at the time of his retirement from the army, "than most of my fellow-sufferers, mainly owing to the great diversity of occupations and business which I have had, though a soldier. . . . In the course of arbitrations, settlements of claims and demarcations of boundaries in many parts of the world, I have devoted a good deal of time to legal studies, particularly to international law, and have taken part in many congresses, conferences and conventions."

Sir John Ardagh's leisure moments were spent in sketching, and he has left over seven hundred highly finished water-colour drawings, made with rapidity and accuracy in almost all quarters of the globe.

For myself, I have to express my deep sense of gratitude to my husband's friends, without whose help I could not have accomplished my task, which has been an unusually difficult one,

partly owing to the variety of subjects in which Sir John was an expert, but chiefly because the greater part of the material in my possession is of so highly confidential a nature that it cannot be used at all.

Moreover, as it was impossible to induce him to talk of himself, much of the knowledge he had acquired and which was stored only in his brain was never committed to paper, and is therefore lost.

I wish particularly to thank Lord Lansdowne, Lord Sanderson, Lord Grenfell, Sir John Bigham, Sir Henry Brackenbury, Sir Herbert Chermiside, Sir John Furley, Senator Sir James Gowan, Sir Thomas Holdich, Sir Edward Hutton, Sir Percy Lake, Sir Charles Watson, Sir Elliott Wood, General Altham, Colonel Durand, Colonel J. J. Leveson, Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson and many others for their valuable assistance.

Sir William Everett, who was kind enough to revise the chapters dealing with the Bulgarian Boundary Commission, died, I regret to say, last year.

I have also to thank Mr. John Murray for permitting me to use part of an article contributed by my husband to *The Quarterly Review*, on British Rule in Egypt.

SUSAN HAMILTON MALMESBURY.

April 1909.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

1840-67

School days—Trinity College, Dublin—Woolwich and Chatham—	PAGE
The <i>Trent</i> affair—Voyage in the <i>Victoria</i> —Saving the ship—	
Employment at Chatham, Newhaven, Portsmouth, etc.—	
Ireland in 1867—Cruise to Iceland—The <i>Sappho</i> in danger—	
Life at Brighton	I

CHAPTER II

EMPLOYMENT IN THE ROYAL ENGINEERS

1868-76

Committee on Fortifications—Halifax and Bermuda—Franco-German War—Paris at the end of the war—Occupation of Paris by the German army—Evacuation of Paris—Paris to Belfort—Belfort to Strasburg—Malta—Staff College—Letter from General Sir William Jervois—Intelligence Department 16

CHAPTER III

THE NEAR EAST

1876-8

The Eastern Crisis of 1878—The Turco-Servian War—Recalled to Constantinople—Defences of Constantinople—Special service at Tirnova 32

CHAPTER IV

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

1877-8

Egypt in 1877—Return to England—The Intelligence Department—Visit to Hickleton—Special service in Italy—Religion in the Italian Army—Congress of Berlin—Letter from Lord Beaconsfield 44

CONTENTS

CHAPTER V

BULGARIAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION

1878

	PAGE
International amenities—The dogs of Constantinople—The new Bridge—Turkish misgovernment—Defences of the Bosphorus—Brigandage in the Tekir Dagħ—The Dobrudscha Boundary—Dinner party in a mud hut—Commencement of the new frontier—Hard work and bad food—Shooting for the pot—Return to Constantinople—"Finishing" the plans of the new boundary—Signature of the plans	56

CHAPTER VI

BULGARIAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION

1879

Preliminary meetings of the Commission—Lashkareff and Skobelev at Plevna—Dining with a Russian battery—The Russians dine with Major Ardagh—Surveying in the snow—Rose-culture at Rahmanli—The Shipka Pass—Delimitation of the Shipka Frontier—The Hain-keui Pass—The Tvarditza Pass—Arming the Bulgarians—Transport difficulties—The Commission divides—"Don"—Rustchuk <i>en fete</i>	73
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VII

BULGARIAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION

1879

Nikopoli—Plevna—To Orkhanié—Disputes between Russian and Turkish topographers—Sofia—Oppression of Turks by Bulgarians—Disturbances at Djuma—Burning of Djuma—Divergence of views—Rilo Monastir—Review of the military situation—Return to the frontier—Attack on Ardagh's party—Obstructive tactics—Surveying—Interview with chamois—Completion of the work—Situation in Turkey—Religion of the Turks—Tiflis and Sevastopol—Finland	89
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREEK FRONTIER AND THE BERLIN CONFERENCE
OF 1880

The Berlin Conference—"The Lay of the Wooden Spoon"—Turco-Greek Frontier—Selection of a frontier—Signature of Convention—Travels in Greece—Death of Abdul Aziz—The new Sultan—Delimitation of frontier—Relaxations of Major Ardagh	118
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER IX

DELIMITATION OF THE TURCO-GREEK FRONTIER

1881

	PAGE
Difficulties of the Delimitation Commission—Brigandage in Greece—Murder of the Beauties of Janina—Murder of a Turkish officer—The scruples of a brigand—Defeat of Roustan—The foreign colleagues retire—The last march—The Blue Ballet-Girl—The Order of the " Croix du Sauveur "	131

CHAPTER X

THE EGYPTIAN CRISIS OF 1882

Arrival at Port Said—Defences of Alexandria—Water supply—Shots exchanged with Arábi—Defensive measures at Ramleh—Repairing the railway—Skirmish with Arábi—Reconnaissance in force—Charges of looting	142
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XI

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

1882

Tel-el-Kebir—In the trenches—After the battle—The Royal Engineers at Tel-el-Kebir—British Army of Occupation at Cairo—Review of the British forces—" The Dormitory "—Life at Cairo—Visit to Jerusalem—An unfulfilled prophecy—Outbreak of cholera—Society in Cairo—Clouds on the horizon	156
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XII

EASTERN SOUDAN EXPEDITION

1884

The Expedition starts—Battle of El-Teb—Battle of Tamai—Review of the situation—Occupation of Handub—Osman Digna—March on Tambuk—March on Tamanib—Suakin-Berber Route	172
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIII

THE NILE EXPEDITION

1884-5

Selection of the route—Suakin-Berber route—The Nile Expedition starts—A difficult post—Base of the Expedition—Postal arrangements—Fortunes of the Nile Expedition—Letters from the front	190
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIV

THE SECOND NILE EXPEDITION

1885-6

	PAGE
Check to the Khalifa—Preparing for the attack—Battle of Ginnis—A narrow escape—Pursuit of the enemy—Move down the Nile—Surveying the country—Shooting the First Cataract—Scylla and Charybdis—Safe at Assuan	203

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION OF ARDAGH'S EGYPTIAN SERVICE

1886-7

The military position in Egypt—The Moufettish, a dark chapter in Egyptian history—Adjustment of Anglo-Egyptian finances—The new Mobilisation scheme	216
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVI

INDIA

1888-94

By Colonel Algernon Durand

Private Secretary to Viceroy of India—Duties of Private Secretary—Qualifications—Congratulations—Arrival at Calcutta—Situation in 1888—Lighting of the Red Sea—Territorial nobility—Reorganisation of the Indian Army—Royal Engineers in India—A frontier province—Fall in the value of the rupee—Conclusion	233
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVII

INDIA

1892-94

Ordered home—A funeral feast—The defence of London—Canton— <i>Namoa</i> case—Penang—Trouble with the Amir—Indian frontiers—Possessions beyond the sea—Cruise to the Crimea—Interview with the Sultan—Character of the Sultan—Policy of the Sultan—Glynllivon—Commandant, S.M.E., Chatham—Marriage	250
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

1896—1901

	PAGE
Difficulties of Intelligence work—The naval factor—Limitations—War Office reorganisation—Functions of D.M.I.—Defects in his position—Relations with Lord Lansdowne—Relations with Headquarters Staff—Distribution of duties—Sir William Everett—Relations with Admiralty—Defence Committees—Proximity of Downing Street—Relations with Downing Street—The confidence of F.O. and C.O.—Military advice to F.O. and C.O.—Frontier questions—Frontier disputes—Confidential work—Grave strategical anxieties—The French misunderstanding—Problem of the Far East—America and Australia—Thirty small wars—International cables—Cable-landing Rights Committee—Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee—State purchase of cables—All-British cable routes—Strategic lines—Value of special committees .	268

CHAPTER XIX

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

1899—1901

The Czar's proposals—Objects of the Hague Conference—Selection of British representatives—Ardagh's appointment—Drafting of Government instructions—Appointment of Hague Committees—Limitation of armies—Restrictions in armament—The Dum-Dum bullet—American support—Condemnation of Dum-Dum bullet—Explosives from balloons—Codification of Laws of War—Ardagh's views on Laws of War—The revised Code—Ardagh's services at the Hague—Results of Hague Conference—Enforced rest—Dark days—Charges against the Intelligence Department—Injustice borne in silence— <i>Vox clamantis in deserto</i> —Attitude of Ardagh—Royal Commission on the War—Statement of the Intelligence Division—Information supplied to authorities—Colonial section—Maps of South Africa—Difficulties of a survey—The mapping controversy—Difficulties of the Government—The Royal Commission and the Cabinet—Reorganisation of the Intelligence Division—Whole-hearted devotion to duty—Ardagh's character	302
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XX

SOUTH AFRICAN DEPORTATION, COMPENSATION, MARTIAL
LAW AND CHILE-ARGENTINE COMMISSIONS

1896—1902

Recapitulation of two previous chapters—Accuracy of Intelligence Division—Policy of the Government—Strength of the Boers—End of military career—Employment by the Foreign Office—Varied occupations—Legal studies—Honorary work—Yachting in Norway—Trip to the West Indies—Situation in Canada—Tour in the Mediterranean—Bizerta—Crete—The Hague—South African Deportation Commission—"Justice for Ireland"—Conduct of the Defence—Netherlands South African Railway—Settlement of claims—South African Compensation Commission—Voyage to South Africa—Central Claims Board—Investigation of claims—Liability of the State—Letters from Pretoria—Commission on Martial Law sentences—South African Colonisation Society—Chile-Argentine Boundary Commission—Satisfactory Settlement . . .	PAGE 355
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------

CHAPTER XXI

REVISION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION AND SUEZ CANAL
DIRECTORSHIP

1903—1907

British Red Cross Society—Dutch Ambulance at Elandsfontein—Status of Red Cross Associations—Revision of the Geneva Convention—Signature of the Convention—Provisions of the new Convention—International Red Cross Conference—Recommendations of the Conference—Suez Canal Directorship—Canal dues—Settlement of differences—The Suez Canal Company in Egypt—Assuan re-visited—Relations with colleagues—Their kindness and consideration—The End . . .	398
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

APPENDIXES

A. THE TURCO SERVIAN WAR	415
B. THE LAY OF THE WOODEN SPOON	419
C. BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT	424
D. SOUTH AFRICAN COLONISATION SOCIETY	439
E. SHORT HISTORY OF THE RED CROSS MOVEMENT	444
F. SHORT HISTORY OF THE SUEZ CANAL	450
INDEX	455

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

COLONEL SIR JOHN ARDAGH, K.C.I.E., C.B., R.E., 1896 . . .	24
<i>From a Photograph by Messrs. Russell & Sons</i>	
<i>Photogravure Frontispiece</i>	
FACING PAGE	
THE EVACUATION OF PARIS BY THE GERMAN ARMIES, MARCH 3, 1871	24
NISCH, SEPTEMBER 26, 1876	38
THE BALKAN PROVINCES (MAP)	56
CORFU, 1881	128
BATTLE OF TAMAI, MARCH 13, 1884	178
STROMBOLI IN ERUPTION, MAY 1884	190
BATTLE OF GINNIS, DECEMBER 30, 1885	206
CAIRO—MOSQUE OF AMR, FOUNDED A.D. 642	218
MOSQUE AND CITADEL, CAIRO, 1887	226
CONSTANTINOPLE, 1888	232
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR	240
TEMPLE OF PAGAN, BURMA	244
TRE PONGÍ AND NANDÀ DEVÌ, FROM THE SNOW SEAT, NAINÍ TAL, ETC. 15,000 FEET OF SNOW	250
COLONEL ARDAGH, C.B., R.E., 1884	258
F.-M. H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, WITH HIS PERSONAL STAFF, ON THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY, 1895	266
THE RAFT SUND, LOFOTEN (FROM THE "MIRA," R.Y.S., 1896)	364
<i>From a Water-colour Drawing by Sir John Ardagh</i>	
JACOBUS RIVER, FRONTIER BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NORWAY, 1896	366
GIBRALTAR, FROM BEHIND THE SIGNAL-STATION, 1899	368
SPION KOP, 1902	384
MAJUBA HILL, FROM CHARLESTOWN, 1902	386
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE BATTLE OF TEL-EL-KEBIR, SEPT. 13, 1882	At the end.

LIFE OF SIR JOHN ARDAGH

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

1840—1867

School days—Home life and education—Trinity College, Dublin—Woolwich and Chatham—The *Trent* affair—Voyage in the *Victoria*—Saving the ship—Employment at Chatham, Newhaven, Portsmouth, etc.—Ireland in 1867—Cruise to Iceland—The *Sappho* in danger—Life at Brighton.

JOHN CHARLES ARDAGH¹ was of Celtic descent and was born at Comragh House, Co. Waterford, on August 9, 1840. He was the son of the Rev. W. J. Ardagh, of Comragh and Stradbally, a kind-hearted man of considerable capacity, a good preacher, much beloved in his county and a squarson of the old sporting type. He hunted a pack of hounds in friendly conjunction with the Roman Catholic priest of his parish and farmed his own land. It may be assumed that he was modestly proud of his methods of farming, for, in a letter to his son, then a cadet at Woolwich,

¹ Major-General Sir John Charles Ardagh, R.E., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B. (Civil), C.B. (Military), LL.D., Trinity College, Dublin.

he acknowledges the receipt of a somewhat long dissertation on this subject, thanks him for the information imparted and, with gentle irony, offers in return to write him a paper on Military Engineering.

Mr. Ardagh lost his wife, a Miss Cobbold, of Ipswich, soon after the birth of her second son, who was brought up by his mother's sister, to whom he was deeply attached.

At the age of ten he was sent to Dr. Price's school at Waterford, and was educated with a view to his taking orders. An old schoolfellow writes :

Ardagh was the head of the big boys' dormitory, and always took care, whenever we small boys had a free fight with pillows or bolsters, that everything was carried out with the strictest discipline. We all referred to him, knowing what an honourable boy he was, and were sure of justice. He saved the writer of this from many a good caning. . . . No one could touch him at mathematics, and with all his cleverness he was as modest as he was generous. I recollect on one occasion at school a very difficult question was asked in class and I happened to be next to Ardagh, but lower down. He whispered the answer to me ; I promptly repeated it and was placed above Ardagh himself and several others.

He was quiet and studious, reading while other boys played ; but his strongest characteristic was that he could never bear to hear any one un-

kindly spoken of. In a letter written many years later and asking for some small employment to be given to a poor man, he ingenuously admits all the shortcomings of his protégé, adding in a spirit of gentleness and forgiveness: "But I am sure you will agree with me that, if he has not always behaved well, he is the more to be pitied."

Not that John Ardagh was without faults—on the contrary, he was particularly contradictory and argumentative, and had a fiery temper, only moderately under control; but he looked his faults in the face, confessed them with simplicity, and those who only knew him in after-years could hardly believe he had ever possessed any, so patient, temperate in his views, and judicial in mind had he become.

But, though fond of his book, he was also good on a horse, having been taught to ride by his father, to whom he acted as whip and no doubt also to the Roman Catholic priest. He seemed to know by instinct what a horse's point of view would be and to arrive at a satisfactory compromise, avoiding all unnecessary conflict.

John Ardagh very early showed a taste for drawing and his first paint-box was given to him by Louisa, Lady Waterford, herself an accomplished artist and one of the most beautiful women of her day.

The Beresford family were intimate friends of his, and he was closely associated with Lord Charles and Lord William during their subsequent careers.

Whyte-Melville, another friend of the family, said of him, "That young man will go far. He rides straight and speaks to nobody."

He soon rose to the top of his school, and at the age of seventeen entered Trinity College, Dublin, taking a prize in Hebrew. He took sixth place at the entrance examination in 1856; honours in Mathematics in 1857; and first place on entering Galbraith's preparatory class for the Royal Engineers. He was either first or second at every examination at Woolwich. Among his contemporaries and allies at Trinity were Lord Rathmore, Lord Ashbourne, Mr. Lecky, and Sir Thomas Snagge. It must have been about this time that the late Sir William (then Major) Palliser, a neighbour of the Ardaghs, began to conduct his experiments in artillery not far from Comragh, and this, no doubt, had its effect on the mind of the boy, bringing out his ardent love for science and for military life. On the other hand, he found it impossible to submit to the yoke of a Church governed—I speak of Ireland fifty years ago—by hard-and-fast dogmas, after the style and in the language of the Athanasian Creed.

A letter written by him six or seven years later contains these words (he had been reading "Essays and Reviews," and the answers thereto, edited by the then Bishop of London):

The leaning of all young men is naturally towards scepticism. I hope I am free from that; . . .

but it ultimately comes to this—that you have nothing material in which you can place implicit confidence, . . . and so I am left with a sort of transcendental religion, based on the abstract truths which one culls somehow from the historical part of the Bible.

These views, modified by a ripened judgment, were those of Sir John Ardagh during the whole of a life which he spent in hard work, in doing his duty and during which no unkind word or deed was ever recorded of him. As he lay on his death-bed, patient and uncomplaining, consenting to the inevitable, an old friend of his, the Vicar of Carnarvon, was admitted to his room and blessed him, saying, “What can I say to him, a better man than myself?”

For these reasons he decided to join a preparatory class for the entrance examination of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where he passed in second, in 1858, and became the favourite pupil of Professor Sylvester, an eminent mathematician. A year later he passed out first, and in April 1859 was gazetted as a second lieutenant in the Royal Engineers.¹ He completed the usual course of training at the School of Military Engineering, Chatham, and was transferred to Pembroke, where large works for the defence of the dockyard were in course of construction and where he was responsible both for design and execution. On completion of his

¹ His commission as Lieutenant, R.E., is dated October 30, 1860.

employment there he was officially commended in the reports to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne.¹

In March 1861 Lieutenant Ardagh went to Milford, and had charge of Popton Point Battery. While at Milford he delivered a lecture on Meteorology at the Mechanics' Institute.

On April 19, 1861, the first blood in the American Civil War had been shed at Baltimore and, after the battles of Bull Run and Wilson's Creek had been fought without any decisive result on either side, the blockading fleets had captured Fort Hatteras and Port Royal. In November of the same year the *Trent*, a British mail steamer sailing between two neutral ports, was boarded by a zealous Federal naval officer and two of her passengers, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Confederate envoys, were arrested. A collision between Great Britain and the United States seemed imminent, and the immediate effect on the career of John Ardagh was that he was suddenly ordered to embark for New Brunswick in the hired transport *Victoria*, with two sergeants and a party of sappers in charge of telegraphic stores. I give the rest of the story in

¹ Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne was born in 1782. He served his country with distinction and devotion for seventy years, and died in 1871, still hale in body up to within a short time of his death, and with unclouded intellect to the end. It was said of him that he never made an enemy or lost a friend. His last post was that of Constable of the Tower, where he was buried.

the words of Captain Reid, an officer formerly in the 96th Regiment, as the hero of the adventure was too modest to "blow his own trumpet" in his report to the authorities, and too kind-hearted to allude to the most obvious deficiencies of others.

I was at the School of Musketry at Hythe with a small detachment of the 96th Regiment when I received orders to join headquarters in Ireland to embark for St. John's, New Brunswick.

We marched through London on the day of the Prince Consort's funeral, every one smothered in crape and everything looking melancholy. After we had spent a few days in barracks the *Victoria*, with Lieutenant Ardagh and a working party of R.E., with I forget how many miles of telegraph wire, arrived, and we were hustled on board. We set sail—the engines were only auxiliary—in the teeth of a gale which in a day or two amounted to a hurricane. We had six hundred men on board. The *Victoria* was totally unfit for an Atlantic voyage, having been built for the Australian trade. The engines could not face a heavy sea;¹ the rigging was rotten, and we lost every sail. I well remember the last one, which went off with a bang and split into ribbons! We knocked about until our coal was nearly exhausted and then had to come back and refit. We re-embarked in about a fortnight and not one of the original crew, except the lamplighter, or one of the ship's officers, except the purser, would come with us.

Ardagh employed part of his enforced leisure

¹ Several men were killed or badly injured during the gale. Their sufferings were terrible.

while on shore in composing a poem, from which I cull the following lines :

It blew so hard, it blew the buttons
Slick from off a bugler's coat ;
And a comrade dear of Atkins
Had his pipe blown down his throat !

We started with new officers and a fresh crew—and a nice lot of scoundrels they were ! Sometimes we had to keep them at the wheel with bayonet sentries. First we were blown nearly up to Iceland, then down to the Azores. The rudder-chains were continually breaking and at last we sprung a leak and lay helpless in the trough of the sea, with six feet of water in the engine-room.

Had it not been for Ardagh and his engineers, we must have gone down. The engine pumps choked and the ship's engineers could not account for it. Ardagh made his men unscrew them, and found them choked with a pair of socks belonging to one of the stokers. He rigged up temporary pumps made out of the men's mess tables, and in about three days we were able to light the fires and make for Fayal Harbour, the nearest land. Even there we were nearly driven on shore by a gale. A Confederate steamer, the *Annie Childs*, having run the blockade from New Orleans, remained for a few hours in harbour, so our colonel and also the ship's captain took this opportunity of sending home dispatches respecting our helpless condition. However, Ardagh and his men worked like slaves, tinkered up the engines, and we started under easy steam and got to Plymouth. The men-of-war which the admiral sent out to bring us home missed us and got into frightful weather, whereas we had the sea as calm as a mill-pond. We must have been at sea altogether for three months and, having started from Cork Harbour and

landed at Plymouth, in the end found ourselves about three hundred miles farther from our destination than when we first set sail.

Although the young lieutenant of twenty-one, in his official report, attributed to others all the credit of saving the ship, the truth became known to his superior officers and he was thanked on parade, by order of H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief, for his conduct on the occasion.

By this time the United States Government had found their position untenable, all precedents being against them, Mason and Slidell were released and the *Trent* affair came to an end. The unlucky *Victoria* was subsequently re-fitted, re-christened, and was afterwards advertised by her owners as "the finest vessel that had ever left the Mersey."

In 1863 Lieutenant Ardagh had serious thoughts of going to India or of leaving the Corps altogether, but changed his mind and never seems to have regretted his decision. He was ordered to Chatham for a short time and then to Newhaven, to superintend the building of Newhaven Fort, for the design of which he was largely responsible and in connection with which he invented a draw-bridge, said to exhibit great talent and ability. He was then sent to Portsmouth and employed on the Spithead Forts and on the fortifications of the Isle of Wight, after which he was again at work at Newhaven, making Brighton his headquarters.

In June 1867 he received permission to give

evidence on an engineering arbitration question, from Sir John Burgoyne, who wrote: "I consider it creditable to the corps and to yourself that you should have been invited to do so."

The Rev. W. J. Ardagh and his son were on terms of great affection, as is shown by the following letter, written just after an election, of the kind that must have given colour and variety to Irish life:

November 1867.

. . . One of the most pleasing acts in this world is obliging a friend, but it cannot be compared to the pleasure a parent feels in obliging a dutiful child. You may therefore rub Cox's letter out of your memory, as I have written to remit the amount. . . . We went into Waterford at the risk of our lives and polled our men, and, but for Willie, who rode in to Dungarvan for the troops, neither Lord Waterford, the Pallisers, Kennedys, nor the Beresfords could ever have got in.

Perhaps it may have been on this occasion that an event took place which Sir John Ardagh was fond of relating in after-years.

A man was sitting in a booth, leaning his head back against the canvas, thus creating a rounded projection on the outside. A passer-by saw this bump and succumbed to the irresistible temptation of giving it a whack with his shillelagh, from the effects of which sportive greeting the first man died. His aggressor was tried for murder, but was let off by the jury on the ground that, according to the doctor's opinion, the victim's

skull was unusually thin and that no man with such a skull had any business to go to an election.

In July 1867 our young lieutenant took two months' leave in order to go on a cruise to Iceland with his friend Mr. Lawton in his yacht the *Sappho*. On his way through London he incautiously looked in at the War Office, was captured at once by the authorities and haled back for three days to Newhaven to explain certain details connected with his work there. Released at length, he started for Glasgow on his way to Greenock. Here he paid an exhilarating visit to the cemetery, which apparently laid the foundation of his peculiarly practical, if unromantic, views on the subject of memorials to the dead—views which were strengthened in after-years by pilgrimages to foreign battle-fields and to graveyards where our soldiers lie buried in exile, too often, at that time, in neglect.

All originality in sepulchral ornaments seems to be exhausted, . . . and I propose that the sums designed to be spent should be collected until their amount is sufficiently large to defray the cost of a magnificent mausoleum which might adorn the site and be worthy of the city ; the most offensive of the existing monuments might be utilised in the foundations and, when the distinguished persons are disposed of, the interior might be portioned off into advertising spaces for the merits of less illustrious defunct, strict regard being had to the architectural arrangements and no incongruities being permitted.¹

¹ From Lieut. Ardagh's diary : " A Journey to Iceland in 1867."

The *Sappho* was a schooner of a hundred and five tons ; she left Greenock on July 11, anchored at Oban and proceeded to Portree, where the party landed and explored the island of Skye. They ascended Quiraing, a mountain formed of spires and towers of basalt and trap. Lieutenant Ardagh describes the view from the top with a painter's insight and love of spiritualised colour :

The Ross-shire mountains are principally composed of pearl and sapphire—the Minch, which some may believe to be made of sea-water, is in reality emerald, strewn with diamond dust, while the islands are rocks of turquoise and rubies set in agate.

From Portree they went to Stornoway, where a number of the party attempted to desert, probably because of the rough weather and the lively dancing of the little yacht, which continually rolled them out of their berths. But Mr. Lawton was as ready for that as he subsequently proved himself for other emergencies, so, without wasting precious time in argument, he put to sea and, accompanied by enormous flights of gulls, geese and other sea-birds, headed for the Faroe Islands, anchoring safely at Thorshaven with his recalcitrant guests on board. Here they stayed a few days and witnessed a battue of bottle-nosed whales. This was a gruesome sight, as they were driven by fleets of boats into shallow water, which was soon dyed with their blood. The horrible red tint was said to last for weeks.

On August 5 the *Sappho* again weighed anchor, but the weather was still very rough. The captain, having devoted himself too much to the whisky bottle, lost all reckoning, and the yacht, running eight or nine knots before the wind, suddenly found herself in shoal water. By the time Mr. Lawton and Lieutenant Ardagh managed to get the sail taken in and stood out to the southward close hauled, they were so near the surf that, as far as the eye could reach on either side, there was a continuous line of breakers.¹ After this narrow escape the two friends navigated the yacht themselves, Lieutenant Ardagh's experiences on board the *Victoria* proving useful, and by August 9 they reached Reykjavic in safety.

Iceland was thoroughly explored. Hecla was ascended, the Geysers visited; and the *Sappho* made her way back by easy stages to Greenock, where the party separated about the middle of September.

October saw John Ardagh back at Brighton, going over to his work at Newhaven every day by train and enjoying the society of a large circle of friends, most of whom are no longer alive. Among others he had met Mrs. Woodforde and Miss Kinglake, two elderly ladies who lived together in a large house in Brunswick Square,

¹ The coast was invisible, being quite flat for twenty miles inland. Many years later, Admiral Lord Charles Beresford wrote: "Ardagh had a thorough knowledge of both services, which I have never known equalled."

and who practically adopted him as their son. He made his home with them whenever his work permitted it, and they afterwards established themselves in London for his sake while he was at the War Office.

From a cousin of these two ladies I have the following details :

Mr. Ardagh was about the middle height, with a slight and graceful figure, light moustache and hair, both kept very short, a large but well-shaped nose, good features, beautiful teeth, Irish grey eyes and a pale clear skin. Altogether he was very attractive, with a low harmonious voice and laugh. He did not speak much, but what he said was always to the point. With gentle manner and smile he held his own, as, for instance, on the subject of my cousin Eothen's "Crimean War," which we admired very much. Not so Mr. Ardagh, who continually differed. He was much struck by Shelley's opinions and greatly admired Tennyson and Kingsley, reading aloud and reciting to us "Oenone," "Tithonus," "Maud," "Queen Mab," etc., etc. No one who heard him can ever forget the beauty of his deep melodious voice, the music of which is still ringing in my ears.

Among Lieutenant Ardagh's acquaintances at Brighton was Mr. Gladstone, but he was never led away by the great man's extraordinary power of fascination and was always a staunch Conservative. Later on his experiences in Turkey and Egypt and his friendship with General Gordon confirmed these views.

It was during these years that we first met.

I was then a little girl at school at Brighton and one day, having encountered him out walking, infringed the rule which forbade us to bow to acquaintances of the opposite sex. For this wicked behaviour I was condemned to learn sixty lines of one of Racine's dullest plays.

In a book of confessions of the date John Ardagh admits that his chief faults are "arrogance and ill-temper," his favourite virtues "courage and generosity," and his then condition "depression."

The first two defects he conquered completely ; of his courage and generosity I shall give instances later on ; but fits of deep depression clouded all his life from time to time, the cause being probably physical.

CHAPTER II

EMPLOYMENT IN THE ROYAL ENGINEERS

1868—1876

Committee on Fortifications—Halifax and Bermuda—Franco-German War—Paris at the end of the war—Occupation of Paris by the German army—Evacuation of Paris—Paris to Belfort—Belfort to Strasburg—Malta—Staff College—Letter from General Sir William Jervois—Intelligence Department.

IN April 1868, on the recommendation of Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne, Lieutenant Ardagh was appointed Secretary to the Committee on Fortifications,¹ and his days were fully occupied, as he had to keep an eye on Newhaven Fort as well as write letters and minutes.

In 1869 he accompanied Colonel Sir William Jervois to Halifax and Bermuda on a tour of inspection of the fortifications of those places ; but his departure being delayed, he spent the interval with his friends Mr. and Mrs.² Elliot, of

¹ The Committee on Fortifications—composed of Admiral the Hon. Sir Frederic Grey, Sir Lintorn Simmons, Sir Collingwood Dickson, Sir John Hawkshaw, and Colonel Elwyn—was appointed in 1868 to inquire into the state and progress of the works which had been initiated on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on National Defences of 1858. The inquiry covered all the modern works in the United Kingdom.

² Daughter of the sixteenth Baron Trimlestown.

Clifton Park, Kelso. Here he had a sharp attack of ague and recovered rapidly, but not, he thought at the time, on account of dosing himself with quinine hair-wash, the only available specific!

At last a start was made in the *Etna*, s.s., for Halifax, which he reached ten days later, with his usual bad luck in the way of weather.

At this period [writes Lieutenant Ardagh], the suspicion that the tin box containing my dress clothes, warm clothes, swell clothes and seal-skin waistcoat, white flannels and white waistcoats for Bermuda, had been made away with, became a certainty, for, on clearing off from the *Etna*, my faithful Irish soldier-servant¹ could not find it.

Colonel Jervois and Lieutenant Ardagh remained only a short time in Bermuda, and on their return the latter was appointed Secretary to the Committee on Coast Defences.²

¹ This adventure seems to have produced a great effect on the man's mind, for during the first Egyptian campaign he used to annex, on his own responsibility, what stray property he could find, tying it, if alive and edible, to the ropes of his master's tent till wanted. On being suddenly recalled to England, Colonel Ardagh instructed him to pack, follow and meet him on board the steamer on which he had suddenly received orders to sail. "Well, have you packed all my things?" said the Colonel. "I have, sor, *at laste*," was the rather puzzling reply, explained later by the fact that his only too faithful retainer had packed, not only his master's things, but also all those of a friend, who was left behind completely destitute of spare clothing.

² The Committee on Coast Defences was appointed in the course of the Franco-German War to examine into the condition and efficiency of the various batteries erected at different epochs for the defence of the coast of England.

1870.¹—On the sudden announcement by Prim that he had offered the Crown of Spain to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern and that he had provisionally accepted it, France announced to Prussia that she could not permit one of the Prussian royal family to take the throne of Spain. Prussia denied all knowledge of the affair, and Prince Antoine, the father of Leopold, withdrew in the name of his son. There can be little doubt that King William and Bismarck were cognisant of and approved the proposal, which, however, they actively disavowed when inquiries were made by France.

Since the victories of Prussia over Austria in 1866 the French nation has frequently manifested its chagrin at the prestige and power acquired by its ancient enemy and it has shown particular jealousy of the gradually increasing fleet of the North German powers. In 1866 they awoke to find themselves no longer the arbiters of Europe and ever since no effort has been spared to regain their former position. . . .

Although the Duc de Gramont announced to the Chamber on July 15, 1870, that the King of Prussia had declined to receive Benedetti at Ems, that this alleged discourtesy was to be made a *casus belli* on the ground that Prussia would give no prospective guarantee as to the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidate, and that the French Ambassador had been insulted, nothing further took place beyond preparations on either side. On the 18th an attaché was despatched from Paris to Berlin announcing a formal declaration of war.

With somewhat indelicate haste the English Government published, on the 19th, the Neutrality

¹ War of 1870-71 between France and Germany. MSS. notes by Lieutenant Ardagh, July 1870.

Proclamation before diplomatic efforts had altogether failed; and on July 20 war was actually declared by France.¹

It will be unnecessary to follow the detailed and technical résumé of the Franco-German War, as given in Lieutenant Ardagh's notebook with numerous pencil illustrations. Suffice it to say that, having obtained permission from the War Office to proceed to Paris, he left England on February 26, 1871, and travelled *viâ* Calais. The German lines were entered at Abbeville, from which point the journey was necessarily very slow, especially as the bridge over the Seine at Pontoise had been destroyed and replaced by a bridge of boats which would not safely bear the weight of a loaded train. The Paris journals of the 27th published the proposed terms of peace and a statement that an armistice had been agreed upon from that date.

The actual appearance of the French capital at this time can be gathered from the following extract :

PARIS, HÔTEL BERGÈRE, RUE BERGÈRE.

February 28, 1871.

The streets of Paris seem very dull from the absence of cabs or carriages; on the boulevards there are large crowds, notwithstanding that there

¹ Various preparations had been made by England and Belgium to prevent any violation of their neutrality. Lieutenant Ardagh had been sent first to Holland and then to Antwerp by the Foreign Office during the previous year, perhaps in view of this eventuality.

is no gas, and only one lamp in twenty has a weak substitute in the shape of oil. The cafés are almost as bright as usual inside, with lamps of petroleum instead of gas. Every one seems to talk politics and to speculate on the probable result of the march in of 30,000 Germans on Wednesday. It is thought that there will be a row. On Monday night every one was much excited and during the day a man had been thrown into the Seine and actually stoned to death for supposed sympathy with the Germans. To-day affairs seem more settled. All the newspapers have agreed to cease their publication during the occupation of the Germans and the inhabitants are enjoined to stay at home and close their shutters.

I paid several visits to houses where I had letters to deliver, and was compelled to do so on foot, it being almost impossible to get a cab. In order to procure a *laissez-passer* for Versailles, I had first to go to the English Embassy, where Wodehouse,¹ first secretary, gave me a request to the Préfecture de Police, to which I then walked, and after wandering among the rabbit-burrows of bureaux, I at last in my turn obtained the desired *carte rose* permission with ease and civility.

Dined in the Passage Jouffroy, almost as well as in ordinary times. To-day the boulevards were somewhat less crowded than yesterday. During all the night the sound of drums and trumpets was heard, the rappel and the assembly, but few or none responded in this quarter.

March 1, 1871.—Last night the Reds crowded round the barrack of the Marines, Rue de la Pépinière and, after some time, the gates were opened and many sailors went down towards the Champs Élysées, but, learning that they were

¹ The Hon. Henry Wodehouse, who died later of fever at Athens.

expected to head an attack against the incoming Germans, they gradually detached themselves and returned to barracks. The account says that only eight were missing at the roll-call this morning.

The state of feeling in Paris when it was known that it had been determined to suffer the march of the German Army into the city can well be imagined. It is true that the occupation was to be confined to the Champs Élysées and that from the Arc de l'Étoile to the terrace of the Tuileries all the streets and bridges were strongly held by the Gardes Nationaux, behind which were densely packed crowds of the most dangerous elements of the population. The authorities on both sides were strictly loyal to the agreement which had been entered into between them. The only exception was made in favour of detachments of German soldiers, who were permitted by their officers to pass through the Tuileries and the galleries of the Louvre. But when some of these visitors incautiously showed themselves on the balcony at the extremity of the Louvre opposite to the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, such a hostile demonstration on the part of the people in the street was made that the invaders were hastily withdrawn and the palace was closed.

March 1.—On entering the boulevards this morning I saw what I had never seen before—Paris looking like London on a Sunday. All the shops, cafés, and restaurants were closed, scarcely half a dozen respectable people, excepting strangers,

to be seen, and it was clear that to the better classes the last cup of bitterness was the entry of the Germans. Many working men and *gamins*, however, were lounging about, and the streets were tolerably full of Gardes Nationaux and Mobiles. They piled arms, established sentries and lounged about within reach of their rifles. The German soldiers went about in search of billets, in pairs, without attracting much attention. I crossed over to the American Embassy in the Rue Chaillot to call on Colonel Hoffman and on coming out was overtaken by Colonel Steel, who had been there to see Mr. Washburne, the American Minister. We went up together along the Champs Élysées, everything appearing to be very quiet. German troops were then marching steadily in. There was no turbulence and indeed the *drapeaux nationaux* displayed from many windows gave more the impression of a *jour de fête* than of a *patrie en deuil*.

The German troops, with the Crown Prince at their head, marched into Paris early in the day ; and it had been intended that the Emperor William, at the head of the Prussian Guards, should join them two days later. Meanwhile, the preliminaries of peace having been signed at Versailles, this plan was abandoned and the German Army evacuated the Champs Élysées on the 3rd, and were reviewed by the German Emperor in the Hippodrome at Longchamps on the same day.

Thursday, March 2.—After looking round at the Germans, who had remained on guard all night—guns horsed and gunners sleeping under the waggons and limbers, cavalry saddled and in-

fantry bivouacked—I took a cab out to the *Double Couronne* at the Ternes end of the Boulevard de Courcelles, and walked over about half a mile of the enceinte.

(Here follows a technical description of the defences, which had suffered comparatively little injury.)

The guns and platforms had been removed and the population were helping themselves to the timbers, fascines, gabions, rails and sandbags.¹

. . . At one o'clock I again took the Versailles line and intended to stop at Surêsnès for Mont Valérien, but the train did not halt and I was carried on. At Versailles I called on Baron von Holstein ("chez Monsieur Bismarck," as they told me at the telegraph office) and I was fortunate enough to find him. He conducted me into a room and said: "You have arrived at an important moment; there on the table are the preliminaries of Peace." It was then about 2.30 p.m. The document had several large red seals and signatures upon it and the room, which I presume was Count Bismarck's, seemed to have been just used for a conference. Baron von Holstein kindly promised to obtain for me the general pass I desired. I called on Walker² and Dr. Russell,³ but no one was at home. At the Embassy yesterday evening Mr. Sackville West⁴ told me that the correspondent of *The Daily News* had been maltreated by the mob for having spoken to a German

¹ Not only this material, but heavy guns and small arms and ammunition were carried off and subsequently used by the communards.

² Afterwards General Sir Beauchamp Walker, British Military Attaché.

³ *The Times* correspondent, afterwards Sir William Russell.

⁴ Afterwards Lord Sackville.

soldier.¹ Dined in the Passage Jouffroy with some friends and, the cafés being still closed, adjourned to my rooms and there finished the evening. The passes not yet arrived. News of the approval of the terms of peace received from Bordeaux. Probable withdrawal of the Germans from Paris.

The shops on the boulevards were still closed. . . .

Friday, March 3.—At 11 o'clock I took a *voiture de place* to the Pont de Surênes for ten francs and saw the last German troops march out of the Porte Maillot, followed by a disreputable mob. The drawbridges here and at Porte Dauphine were raised to prevent the people from making disturbances and I drove round by the Porte des Ternes. I met Lord Ranelagh on foot and observed that a review was going on in the Hippodrome at Longchamps. The more brilliant uniforms were very conspicuous. Arrived at the Pont de Neuilly with the first troops marching from the review, dismissed the cab and stood there until about eight thousand had passed: Guard Corps, cavalry, artillery, infantry, Jägers, and Landwehr. Then a gap occurred and I was enabled to cross the bridge. The Germans had been coming down the river in two columns in fours.

Taking the left bank of the river down towards Surênes, I encountered half a dozen companies of Landwehr and, when I arrived at Surênes, the pontoon bridge which the Germans have thrown across about a hundred and fifty yards below the broken suspension bridge, was crowded by a continuous stream of men who took different routes as they landed.

¹ This correspondent was Mr. Archibald Forbes, with whom the Crown Prince of Saxony was seen to shake hands as the latter was riding down the Champs Élysées at the head of the Saxon troops.



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

THE PONT DE NEUILLY.

THE EVACUATION OF PARIS BY THE GERMAN ARMIES, MARCH 3, 1871.
(Rough Sketch).

Presently a cry was passed along from the other bank, "Der Kaiser!" and after a minute or two the Headquarters Staff appeared and began to cross the bridge—a heterogeneous mixture of brilliant uniforms. I should mention that the side ropes of the last half-dozen boats on the Surènes side were twined with evergreens and on each side of the exit a pair of signal staves or young trees decorated with laurel and myrtle were surmounted by the Prussian and German flags, the black and white of the former being raised above the tricolour of the Confederation. There were about fifty Prussian infantry soldiers without arms lounging about, a dozen Frenchmen, but hardly a single person respectably dressed, and, all included, no pretence of being a crowd. Standing close to the bridge, I observed battalion after battalion defile by, then the staff.

The Emperor-King and the Crown Prince were in an open carriage, both looking remarkably well; Bismarck was in a carriage, looking much older than his photographs represent him, having an abstracted and thoughtful expression and deep wrinkles on his face. Moltke looked impassible and imperturbable and in very good condition. I think Von Roon was with him, but am not sure. The Crown Prince of Saxony, the King of Würtemberg, the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and a whole tribe of minor princes formed part of the cortège.

A cloudless sky, a sun as hot as an English May, a view of great natural beauty, enlivened by the variegated uniforms of the German sovereigns and their officers and aides, added to the importance of the occasion and rendered the spectacle one of surpassing interest. Yet the few French present were more intent on selling their little wares than on any thought of the German exodus, and the only expression of feeling on the part of the

Prussian soldiers who stood about was one mild, ill-sustained and, indeed, half-hearted shout when the Emperor passed by. No other individual, not even Bismarck or Moltke, was taken the least notice of. Meanwhile, the cavalry and artillery marched off on the opposite bank towards Neuilly, the white Cuirassiers and the light blue Saxon cavalry being particularly conspicuous. Eight or ten more battalions crossed and then all was quiet. The men were in admirable condition, large, broad-shouldered, healthy, bearing their knapsacks, cloaks, canteens and water-bottles without the least apparent exertion and had an intelligent and gentle appearance.

After carefully visiting the forts round Paris, which he thought little injured on the whole, Lieutenant Ardagh went by a circuitous route to Belfort, as the train service was completely disorganised, being choked with Prussian soldiers leaving and French soldiers returning to Paris. The confusion was such that at Besançon he was nearly suffocated by the crowd when he tried to take his ticket and, although he did eventually receive it, could get no one to take the money.

On March 15 he managed to get on from Besançon by taking an open char-à-banc in the drenching rain, through the defiles of the Jura to Monthier and Pontarlier, 2,700 feet above the sea. Here he was checked again for a time, but got on the next day, the whole country being under snow. From Pontarlier he went, *viâ* Neuchâtel, Bâle and Mulhouse to Belfort, which he considered a far finer fortress than Besançon. The cold here

was so intense that the tints froze on his paper as he sketched La Miotte, one of the external forts. That night he was aroused at 1 a.m. "Qui va là ?"—"Ouvrez, m'sieur, s'il vous plaît !" He opened, and admitted three spiked helmets, covering Prussian officers. The room being double-bedded, they proceeded to establish themselves, two on the spare bed and one on the mattress, covered with the railway rug of their involuntary host.

They were gentlemanly fellows [the diary continues], a captain and two lieutenants, all speaking French, not particular about washing or dressing but surprisingly clean. They hoped they did not derange me, and I on my side replied that it was an agreeable distraction.

Delayed again by the train service, he did not reach Strasburg till March 20 and found the town almost in ruins but the fortifications, as in Paris, practically little the worse.

Strasburg, March 20.—In the meantime a new revolution has taken place in Paris. Vinoy attempted to put an end to the secession of the National Guard at Montmartre. Generals Lecomte and Thomas were shot by order of the Insurgent Committee at 4 p.m. on the 18th. General Favin was surrounded, but escaped by charging three barricades. General Patourel was wounded. Paris generally is in a dangerous state and Vinoy has retired to the south side of the Seine. Considerable excitement prevails and, as I have already exceeded my leave by several days, I must return by the quickest and quietest route.

Lieutenant Ardagh therefore travelled back by Cologne, seeing German flags flying everywhere on the ancient castles on the Rhine, everywhere great rejoicing and plenty of drinking, but no drunkenness.

By March 24 he was back again at Brighton, but not for long, as in April he was ordered to Malta and was employed on the fortifications there. In addition to his ordinary work he was then preparing for the Staff College examination, his special study being Military History, of which at that time he thought he knew nothing. His hours of duty at certain times extended from 4 o'clock in the morning to midnight, and he found the exposure to the sun and to the white glare so prevalent on the island very trying, with no better protection than a uniform cap. By July, after several slight attacks, he was fairly down with Malta fever. This is a complaint which it is impossible to shake off at Malta and he was ordered home. "Miss Albani,"¹ he remarks in his notebook for the year, "is also going home, having obtained an engagement in London."

Arrived in London, Lieutenant Ardagh appeared before a medical board (with the result that he was granted six months' sick-leave) and paid a visit to Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne, for whom he had great reverence and affection—"as bright in mind and as genial and kind as ever, but in body, how changed!" He never saw his beloved chief again alive.

¹ Madame Albani Gye, the celebrated soprano.

His six months' leave was spent in visits to Scotland and Ireland, ending up with a tour to Sedan, Metz, Forbach, Saarbruck, Bingen, Mayence, Frankfort, Leipzig, and Dresden. He rejoined at Chatham on February 25, 1872.

Lieutenant Ardagh had twice applied to be allowed to compete for the entrance examination of the Staff College. He was refused the first time on the score of youth ; but in 1872 he passed in second, losing the first place by a very few marks. His successful rival was Captain Hare, R.E.

In August 1872 Lieutenant Ardagh received his commission as Captain ; and during this year the designs for the drawbridge which he had invented were exhibited in the Science division of the International Exhibition ; he was Adjutant to Colonel Leahy, R.E., Commandant at Wouldham Camp, Acting Brigade-Major at Chatham to General Brownrigg, commanding the district, and A.D.C. to the same officer commanding a division during the autumn manœuvres.

In 1874 he passed his final examination at the Staff College, obtaining special mention in Geology as a voluntary subject ; he passed a very good examination in German and in Experimental Sciences as voluntary subjects, as also in Italian and Landscape as extra subjects.

I will close this period of Captain Ardagh's life by quoting from a letter written to him in 1878 by the late General Sir William Jervois,

30 LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM JERVOIS [1874
G.C.M.G., C.B., at that time Governor and
Commander-in-Chief, South Australia.

. . . It is no exaggeration to say that there is no one amongst the number of engineer officers who have served under me whose ability, industry and judgment I value more highly than I do yours.

It was solely on account of your qualifications and of your being, moreover, a very hard-working fellow, that I applied for you to accompany me on my last fortificational mission to Bermuda in 1869, and I am very glad to take this opportunity of recording that you afforded me great assistance on that occasion.

My previous knowledge of you was gained, first, from the good service you performed at the time of the *Trent* affair in 1861-62, on which occasion you, by your knowledge of steam machinery and untiring energy—so I have learned from independent sources—saved the ship in which you were proceeding to North America when accompanying a body of troops destined for service in Canada.

After this you were employed in laying down a telegraph line in New Brunswick under circumstances of exceptional difficulty.

After you returned to England you were engaged as an executive engineer on works of fortification at Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, Pembroke and Newhaven. Whilst you were thus employed your reports were remarkable for their ability and clearness; and the numerous plans you furnished not only showed you to be a first-rate draughtsman, but gave evidence of your possessing a thorough knowledge of construction and military engineering.

Subsequently you were engaged as secretary to the Committee on Fortifications, of which Admiral the Hon. Sir F. Grey was President, and every one

connected with that committee spoke in the highest terms of your ability and industry. The elaborate report you prepared for that committee is of itself a testimony to the value of your exertions while thus employed. After this you were secretary to a committee of engineer officers who were directed to report upon the defences of the eastern and south-eastern coast lines of England, on which you prepared a detailed report of great value. Besides the duties I have specified, you were, every now and then, employed in assisting in the fortification branch when some special work was required for which the services of the regular staff could not be rendered available. I must not forget to mention the fact that you passed the examination at the Staff College with unusual credit. . . . I can say with confidence that, in whatever position you may be employed, either on the staff or as an engineer officer, I am sure that you will not fail to afford the greatest satisfaction to those under whom you serve.

In April 1875 Captain Ardagh was attached to the Intelligence Department under Major-General Sir P. Mac Dougall, D.Q.M.G., and here he remained until July 1876, from which date until 1881 he was D.A.Q.M.G. under Sir P. MacDougall and Sir Archibald Alison.

This appointment first brought him into personal touch with H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, then Commander-in-Chief.

In March 1876 Captain Ardagh delivered a lecture on the comparative cost of armies at the United Service Institution.

CHAPTER III

THE NEAR EAST

1876—1878

The Eastern Crisis of 1878—The Turco-Servian War—Recalled to Constantinople—Defences of Constantinople—Special service at Tirnova.

THE events which led up to the Eastern crisis of 1878 are matters of general knowledge and need only be recapitulated here in the briefest form for the purpose of explaining what follows.

In the summer of 1875 an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina which rapidly spread to Bosnia and which the Turkish Government showed itself quite unable to suppress or pacify.

In May 1876 similar disturbances occurred in Bulgaria and were dealt with by the Turkish authorities in so sanguinary and ruthless a manner as to excite general indignation and horror.

At the same time the state of misrule which prevailed under Sultan Abdul Aziz had excited general discontent even among his Mussulman subjects, and at the end of May he was deposed.

Five days afterwards his death was announced;

whether by his own hand, as officially stated, or by that of an assassin, has remained doubtful.¹

His nephew Murad, who was installed in his place, was also deposed at the end of August as imbecile and was succeeded by his brother, the present Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

In the meanwhile, on May 30, 1876, Servia had declared war against Turkey and three days later Montenegro followed suit. After some slight successes both Montenegrins and Servians were driven back and by September Servia was practically at the mercy of the Ottoman troops and appealed for the intervention of the Powers. The terms offered by the Porte being unacceptable, the Russian Government, on October 31, 1876, presented an ultimatum at Constantinople, demanding an immediate armistice of six weeks, which was granted.

A conference was thereupon summoned at the proposal of the British Government, and met at Constantinople in December 1876, being attended by the late Marquis of Salisbury as the principal British Plenipotentiary. It led to no result, as the Porte obstinately refused to accept the proposals drawn up by the representatives of the other Powers. Peace was concluded between Turkey and Servia in February 1877 and, as the result of further negotiations between the great

¹ In an article published in *The Nineteenth Century* of February 1888, Sir Henry Elliot, at the time British Ambassador at Constantinople, gives his grounds for believing that the case was one of suicide.

Powers for a general settlement, a protocol was signed in London in March. This was, however, similarly rejected by the Turkish Government ; and on April 24 following, Russia declared war against Turkey. Roumania, while professing a desire to remain neutral, permitted the passage of the Russian Army through her territory, and a month later proclaimed her independence and declared war.

Great Britain protested against the action of Russia, but remained neutral on certain conditions, of which the principal were that Egypt and the Suez Canal should not be interfered with and that the ownership of Constantinople and the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should remain unchanged.

The Russian forces entered Bulgaria, besieged Rustchuk, and by the middle of July had pushed an advanced guard, under General Gourko, across the Balkans. At this juncture the progress of the Russian arms received a check. Osman Pasha, with 40,000 men, threw himself into Plevna, which he fortified, and threatened the flank of the Russian advance ; while Suleiman Pasha, hastily returning from Montenegro, drove General Gourko's force back into the Shipka Pass. Eventually, after a heroic defence prolonged over five months, Plevna was captured by Russian forces, assisted by Roumanian troops, in December and, all resistance having been broken down, Adrianople was occupied on January 20, 1878.

Preliminaries of peace were signed at that place on the 31st and, taking advantage of the terms

agreed upon as to the limits of their occupation, the Russians advanced their headquarters on February 6 to Tchatalja, in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople.

Thereupon the British Government, who had already obtained a vote of credit of £6,000,000 from Parliament, gave orders to a portion of the Mediterranean fleet to enter the Dardanelles and take up a position in the Sea of Marmara.

The treaty of peace was signed at San Stefano on March 3. Its terms, when they became known, were not viewed with favour by any of the other Powers, but were particularly distasteful to Austria and Great Britain. Austria had already, on February 5, proposed the meeting of a Conference to discuss the terms of any settlement that might be arrived at. This proposal was changed on March 7 to one for a European Congress to meet at Berlin. All the Powers concerned, including Russia, were ready to agree, but a fresh difficulty arose which threatened still graver complications.

The British Government demanded that every article of the treaty should be laid before the Congress in order that it might be considered which of them required acceptance by the several Powers. The Russian Government, while leaving to the other Powers the liberty of raising such questions as they might think fit, insisted on reserving to itself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of those questions. Thereupon the British Government called out the

reserves; eight regiments and two batteries of artillery were ordered from India; and Lord Salisbury, who succeeded Lord Derby as Foreign Secretary, issued the famous Circular Dispatch of April 1—a masterly statement of the grounds on which Great Britain objected to each portion of the proposed settlement.

For nearly two months Europe seemed to be trembling on the verge of a general war. The attitude of Austria became increasingly menacing, and Russia could expect no further assistance from the Roumanians, who were deeply mortified and disappointed at the absence of any recognition of the important services which they had rendered. Russia therefore gave way. By the end of May an understanding had been arrived at as to the main lines of the concessions she was prepared to make. The Congress met at Berlin on June 13, and after a month of discussions, which once or twice seemed likely to result in a fresh rupture, the Treaty of Berlin was signed, reducing very considerably the cessions of territory made by Turkey both in Europe and Asia. The new vassal principality of Bulgaria was limited to the country north of the Balkans; to the south of that range an autonomous province was established under the name of Eastern Roumelia; and the accessions granted by the Treaty of San Stefano to Servia and Montenegro were materially diminished. As regard Greece, the Powers went no further than recommending negotiations for a rectifica-

tion of frontier, with a prospect of their mediation if no agreement were arrived at.

Captain Ardagh's services in connection with these questions began in 1876, when he was ordered to proceed on special service to the headquarters of the Turkish Army employed in the operations against Serbia.

The following account is taken from his illustrated diary for 1876, the lengthy and technical descriptions of fortresses, defences, etc., being shortened or omitted.

On August 30 Captain Ardagh left London on special service in Austria and to join the Turkish headquarters at Nisch, on the Turco-Servian frontier. He visited on his way Salzburg, Linz, Pressburg, Kortvélyes, Komorn, and Gran, staying a couple of days at Vienna. He then went on to Pesth, where he took a steamer down the Danube to Belgrade and Widin, which he reached on September 21. Here there were temporary hospitals, well found and organised and full of wounded from Osman Pasha's army, then at Zaicar. From thence Captain Ardagh continued his journey by road in the company of Hadji Reschid Pasha, who was en route to the scene of hostilities from Arabia, where he had been Governor of the frontier, to Scutari, where he was to take over the command.

Civilised comforts were now left behind, the roads were bad and the country they entered mountainous. They crossed the Sveti Nicola Pass,

the summit of which is 4,000 feet above Widin, and here a guard of thirteen irregular rascals, clothed and armed with every conceivable weapon, turned out to receive the pasha. The descent on the other side of the pass was horrible, and they were obliged to walk most of the way. At the foot there was a military post where the guard turned out, and where one of the officers wore a Crimean medal.

Evidences of the bombardment of the Turkish Karaulas¹ by the Servians began to be visible, and at Vischok their entrenchments were distinctly visible on the opposite range of mountains. Hadji Pasha and Captain Ardagh slept in a Turkish camp near Han that night—only too well, in fact, for during the night a cat got in and carried off the solitary chicken which they had been able to provide for their dinner on the morrow.

The next morning they continued their journey, the Nisava River coming into sight, and slept at Ak Palanka, starting again on the following day, September 22.

The country had long been exceedingly mountainous and difficult, and their horses suffered considerably, but happily relays were obtainable. Turkish troops were encountered on the march to Nisch, and at Banja the existence of a natural hot spring, deep, broad, and suitable for a bath, is recorded with such enthusiasm that it is evident no such luxury had for a long time been attainable.

¹ Small fort or blockhouse.



Captain Ardagh reached Nisch on September 24, and, in accordance with the laws of politeness as understood in Turkey, he had, on arrival, at his numerous interviews with various officials, to drink no less than seven cups of coffee and smoke many cigarettes before he could get any food. No preparations for a defence of the town had been made and not a shell had been fired into it.

The Morava Valley, the main artery of the country, the highway between Belgrade and Constantinople, was the principal theatre of war, and that on which the issue of the campaign depended. The headquarters of the Turkish Army were at that time encamped on the west bank of the Morava River, opposite Alexinatz, about eighteen miles north-west of Nisch, the Turkish force having crossed the river by trestle and pontoon bridges, from the right bank, on August 29 and 30, after finding by reconnaissances in force that the Alexinatz defences were too strong for direct attack, and with a view to penetrate into Servia up the west bank of the Morava. Hostilities were imminent. It was not until September 27 that transport could be procured, and on that day Captain Ardagh paid a visit to Sir Arnold Kemball¹ in camp. The road most of the way was a mere track through muddy fields. The Morava River, which he crossed by a newly made trestle bridge,

¹ The late Major-General Sir Arnold Kemball, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., was then British Military Attaché at the headquarters of the Turkish Army.

made numerous and remarkable detours through the valley, so that it would have been quite impossible for a force holding one bank to prevent the river being bridged from the other. The Turkish position extended all along the crest of the hills as far as a point opposite the centre of the Servian Deligrad-Alexinatz lines, where it curved round to face towards Krusevatz. The men lived in their posts, with their rifles laid out on the trench and with little shelter-huts made of boughs of oak trees. They were in very good condition, strong and hardy, though receiving only two rations of meat a week. The Irregular Bashi-Bazooks and Circassians made prize of all the cattle, which the Government had to buy back, if wanted for the troops.

Lieutenant Maitland-Dougall,¹ R.N., A.D.C. to Sir Arnold Kemball, took Captain Ardagh to visit the positions of Hafiz and Suleiman Pasha, on the west bank of the Morava over against the Servian lines on the opposite bank—positions which appeared very strong.

The conditions of armistice previously agreed to by the Servians had been disregarded by them in a very dishonourable manner and the situation looked critical, for the Turks were attempting to hold a line twelve miles in length with scarcely sufficient forces to defend six ; they had no good line of connection in rear of their front, nor indeed a good communication along it. They also had

¹ Now Captain Maitland-Dougall.

only 33,000 men to the Servians' 60,000, the latter holding a line even longer than that of the Turks.

The Servians were constantly firing, not only guns but small arms, so that the sound was like that at a "hot corner" during a day's pheasant-shooting at home. Shots were also fired at Sir Arnold Kemball and Lieutenant Maitland-Dougall whenever they appeared, being attracted by their white cap covers. The Turks were ordered not to reply.

On the 28th Captain Ardagh was back at Nisch, hostilities having recommenced that morning. About eight shots a minute could be distinctly heard and it was evident that an action was proceeding.¹

While matters were in this condition, Captain Ardagh was suddenly recalled to Constantinople, under circumstances which he describes as follows, in a note written by him in 1884 :

¹ The following note has been kindly sent me by Captain Maitland-Dougall :

Captain Ardagh rightly speaks of the bad faith of the Servians, commanded by a Russian general and stiffened by volunteer Russian officers and men ; and was fully justified in his remarks. From my diary I recall that the firing he heard at Nisch on September 28 (five days before the termination of the armistice) was a planned attack on our left and left rear by a large Servian force from the Junis direction, which commenced at 6 a.m. that day and was continued until the evening of the 30th, by which time the Turks had completely driven off the treacherous enemy, but would not follow up their success, as the armistice, forced on them by Russia, had not expired. This fighting cost the Turks many men, but the Servians more. It was no chance engagement started by outposts, but a deliberate movement of a large force, during armistice, upon our rear. I counted twenty dead Russian officers under a Turkish battery which had been surprised on the morning of the 28th, and where Hadji Hassan Pasha had used case-shot and then the bayonet in repelling the attack.

During the Turco-Servian war of 1876 Russia presented an ultimatum to the Porte. I was then at Nisch with the Turkish Army, which had gained some successes over the Servians; and apprehending a *coup de main* on Constantinople, I hurried thither and was instructed by the Government, through Sir Henry Elliot,¹ to survey and prepare a project for the defence of that city.

Accompanied by General Baker Pasha, I selected what is now known as the Buyuk-Tchekmedjé-Derkos position across the Thracian Khersonese, and surveyed it alone at an unusually rapid rate of fifteen square miles a day, with a view to the construction on it of a line of fortifications for the protection of Constantinople.

Lieutenant-Colonel Home, R.E., who was sent to Constantinople to report on the same subject and under whose orders Captain Ardagh was directed to place himself, in forwarding the sketch sheets and the report to the War Office, wrote, dating from Derkos, November 15 1876, as follows :

Having gone over the ground with the sketch, I am in a position to speak of its extreme accuracy. The labour that the preparation of this sketch of nearly 150 square miles has cost and the unceasing care displayed by Captain Ardagh in endeavouring to make it as perfect as possible are apparent.

These surveys included the position of Buyuk-Tchekmedjé-Derkos, projects for the defences of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the Bulair

¹ The Right Hon. Sir Henry George Elliot, P.C., G.C.B., son of the second Earl of Minto, then British Ambassador at Constantinople.

lines and Rodosto ; the actual works were constructed later on by the Turks.

Captain Ardagh also drew up a report for the Foreign Office upon the operations in Herzegovina and Montenegro,¹ and in December 1876, on the recommendation of Colonel Home, was ordered by Lord Salisbury to proceed to Tirnova, north of the Balkans, to report upon violent proceedings said to be taking place in that part of the country.

Captain Ardagh started at once for Philippopolis and stayed at Lady Strangford's house. On his route he crossed the Shipka Pass and was told that the inhabitants fully appreciated the charitable efforts of the English, and of Lady Strangford, for whom prayers were being offered up in the churches. He reached Tirnova about the end of the month and made careful inquiry into the cases brought before him, but at the end of a week he had a severe attack of fever, brought on by the inclement weather as well as very hard work. After nineteen days in bed he got up, completed his investigations and returned viâ Rustchuk to Constantinople, where he took a fortnight's much-needed rest after his illness.

His report on the condition of Bulgaria and the maps with which it was accompanied were considered by the Foreign Office to be of great value and accuracy.

¹ Some opinions, detailed at this time by Captain Ardagh on the military and financial resources of Turkey and Servia, are printed as Appendix A.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

1877—1878

Egypt in 1877—Return to England—The Intelligence Department—Visit to Hickleton—Special service in Italy—Religion in the Italian Army—Congress of Berlin—Letter from Lord Beaconsfield.

CAPTAIN ARDAGH now applied for two months' leave, and in February 1877 started for Alexandria, which he reached on the 12th. His illustrated note-book for this year contains many memoranda respecting the Nile, Nilometers,¹ and other kindred subjects, which must have been of service to him when, long afterwards, he became a Government Director of the Suez Canal.

Writing from Cairo, March 12, 1877, Captain Ardagh relates the incidents of his trip up the Nile in a Khedivial steamer, even in those early days already "personally conducted" by the original Mr. Thomas Cook. He congratulates himself on the absence of ladies on board, contrasting the peaceful relations of the male passengers on his own boat with those which

¹ He delivered a lecture on this subject at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in 1888.

seem to have prevailed on others where there *were* ladies and where there was *not* unanimity.

He gives his impressions of Egypt as a whole in the following words :

What is the size of Egypt? It is quite impossible to say. The Khedive claims sovereignty from the Mediterranean to the Equator, and from the Red Sea and Indian Ocean (except Abyssinia) to the Libyan Desert. This tract may be as large as half Europe; but the territory of Egypt proper—*i.e.* the land fertilised by the Nile—is only as large as Belgium. The desert is as unproductive and irreclaimable as the sea. Sudan and the Equatorial Provinces are in great part unsubdued and must be measured by the length of Charlie Gordon's sword; but the labours of Hercules are infantile compared with the stupendous task he has undertaken in his new empire—a task no man is more capable of performing. This land has a population of five and a quarter millions—about four hundred and fifty to the square mile; three hundred thousand of these are Copts, and may be considered as representing the ancient Egyptian race. The rest, mainly fellahs and Arabs, are Mohammedans, except some Armenians, Syrians, Jews and a European population of whom 50,000 are Greeks and 25,000 Italians, the former comprising a large criminal class. Among the native children, particularly in Cairo, may be seen many faces of a beauty peculiar to Egypt, and of which Cleopatra is a spiritualised type. Some of the Arabs are fine, stately men, but the whole adult population has a spare, haggard appearance.

Egypt is eaten up by its rulers and by a horde of foreign adventurers, who fatten on the oppressive taxes wrung from a miserable population. Costly palaces unoccupied and falling into decay ;

new ones in construction to gratify a whim ; railways which carry no passengers ; sugar factories which are worked at a loss ; extravagant entertainments and unbridled luxury,—these are the assets of the Egyptian bond-holders, the work of a profligate ruler and a corrupt administration.

Out of Cairo horses are very rare ; an epidemic killed most of them a few years ago. The Khedive's cavalry seem very unhappy at a trot. There is a great want of cobbler's wax and an absence of uniformity in their struggles. The infantry are far better, being well clothed and armed, but they march badly and seem badly officered and drilled. They are docile and obedient, but slow to learn. Can they ever make good soldiers ? ¹ There is no fatherland, no flag to fight for—no love for their ruler and no aptitude for arms.

From Cairo Captain Ardagh went to Alexandria, where he embarked for Greece, visiting Eleusis, Salamis, Pentelicus, Marathon, Corinth and Patras, making sketches as he travelled with the rapidity and accuracy which characterised all his work. As an artist he was naturally much struck by the magnificence, grandeur and colour of the colossal Egyptian architecture as contrasted with that of the Greeks and Romans, which, beautiful and delicately finished as he thought it, appeared almost petty in conception ; while in preservation, owing to the dry climate of Egypt, there could be no comparison.

Captain Ardagh touched at Corfu and went to

¹ History has answered this question in the affirmative, but under altered conditions. The Egyptian army has become a good fighting force, but under English Sirdars and English officers.

Brindisi, Naples and Rome, returning to England through France and reaching London about the middle of April. He then resumed his duties at Adair House, where the Intelligence Department was at that time located.

Letters written in September 1877 by Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, then Secretary of State for War and at that time Minister in Waiting at Balmoral and also from Major-General Ponsonby, Private Secretary to the Queen, acknowledge the receipt of maps of the Shipka Pass (through which Captain Ardagh had travelled in the winter of 1876), showing the operations during Suleiman Pasha's attack on the Russians under Radetsky from August 21 to the beginning of September, and also of Plevna, the siege of which was not concluded till December of that year. These maps had been forwarded to Her Majesty by the Duke of Cambridge's desire, and the Queen was so much pleased that she retained them for her own use.

During this month Captain Ardagh also completed a report on the sea defences of the Lewes and Laughton levels, on which he had been at work for a considerable period, in the intervals of his more pressing duties, and for which he was offered, but declined, a gratuity from the Commission. For his action in the matter he was commended by the Commander-in-Chief.

In the following December he was sent to Italy on special service by the Foreign Office.

Previous to his departure, he paid a visit to Major Henry Wood,¹ in Yorkshire, and afterwards went on to Lord Halifax's at Hickleton, near Doncaster.

HICKLETON, *November 26.*

Lord and Lady Cardwell were the only other visitors. I had previously known the ex-Secretary of State for War slightly. We had conversations on many subjects; among others, on Charlie Gordon, now Governor of the Sudan. Lord Cardwell has rather a sententious, but nevertheless a modest, way of expressing himself. He epitomised Charlie Gordon's character remarkably well, observing that he had all the religious enthusiasm of a Maccabee, combined with all the worldly wisdom of a Cortez—which is very high praise from a statesman of his moderate views. We both desired that Gordon should be appointed Governor of Bulgaria, and I firmly believe him to be one of the few men, past or present, who may be safely entrusted with despotic power. I was much struck in Egypt with an observation which Gordon made, à propos of his own principles. "A man," he said, "who cares for wealth or who fears death is the slave of others. A man who is indifferent to them is free, and their master."

On Monday Henry Wood and I went to Garroby, another place of Lord Halifax's, where the shooting-party proper collected; it consisted of Henry and Frederick Wood, their brother-in-law John Dundas, Colonel Evelyn Wood,² C.B., V.C., A.Q.M.G. at Aldershot, Sam Boulderson and myself.

On Friday we returned to Hickleton and found

¹ Hon. Henry Wood, 12th Lancers, brother of second Viscount Halifax. He retired as honorary Lieutenant-Colonel.

² Afterwards F.-M. Sir Evelyn Wood, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., V.C., D.C.L.

the party changed. The Cardwells had gone and were succeeded by Lord Selborne (the ex-Chancellor, better known as Sir Roundell Palmer); Lord Ripon (who, as Lord de Grey and Under-Secretary of State for War in 1862, had given me my instructions before I left for New Brunswick to make a line of telegraph across it at the time of the *Trent* affair); Lord Devon (son of the peer of the same name, well known in Ireland as the President of the Devon Commission), John Bright (President of the Board of Trade in the late Liberal Cabinet) and Mr. Bodley (an antiquarian and architect).

John Bright was to me by far the most interesting of the party. I had often heard him speak in the House, and found that he could speak just as well out of it. His earnestness often amounts to vehemence, but it is impossible, even for his political opponents, not to admire the eloquence and ardour with which he advocates his sincere convictions. He was at his best in the smoking-room, and yesterday I had a long conversation with him on the subject of India, respecting which he held views of his own. His leading principle was that we should govern India in such a manner that, in the event of its ever becoming separated from England, it should be capable of governing itself. This he proposed to effect mainly by a decentralisation of the Government. He has also a very firm belief in the efficacy of irrigation works as a remedy for famines in India.

Dating from the Hôtel d'Angleterre,¹ Bocca di

¹ Some years before Captain Ardagh had visited Rome as a tourist, and gives the following account of an interview with Pio Nono :

We went to the Vatican one morning, in evening dress and without gloves, to be presented to the Pope. After waiting some

Leone, Rome, about a month later, Captain Ardagh writes as follows to a friend :

. . . I arrived yesterday, having come straight through without stopping. . . . I called on Sir Augustus Paget ; the list of questions had rather alarmed him, and he handed it to me with a sigh of relief after having read it aloud, and with an expression which plainly said, " Well ! *your* work is cut out for you if you answer all these ! "

December 21.

There is a ministerial crisis going on. Depretis, the Prime Minister, is to remain on as the head of a new cabinet of the same party. . . .

The dear old Pope is, I fear, on his last legs and, I hear, displays the greatest interest in his own wake and funeral. No one knows who will succeed him, but it is hoped that the Italian Government will seize the opportunity and compel the abolition of the excessive and vexatious restrictions which have to be surmounted in order to see the Vatican. I really think the public care more for this than anything else.

December 26.

In consequence of the ministerial crisis and also of the *festas* at this time of year, there was unusual delay in obtaining access to the military authori-

time in one of the large tapestried rooms, Monsignor Kerby arrived. Then the coming of His Holiness was announced and we all knelt. Presently he entered with a small suite and we were presented one by one as he came on. He spoke a few words to each and seemed inclined to continue any conversation which arose. When it came to our turn, Monsignor Kerby said in Italian, " These sheep are not of our fold. " " Oh, never mind, " said the Pope ; " I will speak to St. Patrick about that, and he will make it all right ! " He looks about seventy—is bright and active and has a most benignant expression and pleasant manner. If I did not fear the greater excommunication, I should describe him as a jolly old bird.

ties, but I have now been handed over from the War Minister to the Chief of the Staff (General Bertole-Viale) and to the Artillery and Engineer Committees. I have also seen Colonel von Haymerlé, the Austrian military attaché, and found him very agreeable and obliging. He is the author of "Die Wehrkraft Italiens" and is greatly astonished that England has neither a naval nor a military attaché here—especially the former; and he said, with a great deal of truth, that a roving attaché (*i.e.* our naval man) is at a disadvantage and never gets behind the scenes. I have purposely avoided looking at any military matters until properly accredited.

December 30.

I have been placed *en rapport* with Lieutenant Giglioli, of the General Staff, in order to procure information relative to the Italian Army. He is charged with the collection of information relative to the English Army, and appears to be thoroughly acquainted with the details of our organisation, but certain small things puzzle him amazingly—such as the meaning of Horse Guards as distinguished from War Office.

Permission to visit the fortifications round Rome having been first refused and then accorded, Captain Ardagh left Rome and goes on to describe the frontier line at the Col di Tenda, the Alpine passes to the north of it, together with the coast defences of the Riviera and the general organisation of the Italian army. Finally, he considers the question of religion.

There are no chaplains in the Italian Army, nor any religious services or education. On Sunday

the men may go to church or not, as they please. A lecture of a moral or instructive character is delivered to each company by its captain on that day, and is said to be carefully attended to and looked on as a treat. The officers are, as a rule, free-thinkers and display an open contempt for the superstition of religion. The men fresh from the country go to church tolerably regularly at first, but in the second and third years of their service gradually discontinue the practice. It is not thought that this neglect has any demoralising effect.

Drunkenness is almost unknown, and a man would be condemned by his comrades for yielding to intemperance. My own opinion is that a system of abstract morality is unsuited to the masses of any country, and most of all to the population of Italy; if sufficiently persisted in it may lead to disastrous consequences, political as well as military.

It is said that the recruits are wanting in military qualities, and, although quick and obedient, have not the military instinct nor a high moral sense of duty, and it is a question whether it is wise to dispense with the support of religion of some sort, though it would evidently be impolitic to cultivate a devotion to the Pope and the Catholic hierarchy, who are in open antagonism to the State. . . . For the present, at least, this aid must be dispensed with.

Captain Ardagh returned to London about March 1878, but on June 8 received orders to proceed to Berlin with Field-Marshal Sir Lintorn Simmons as technical military delegate attached to the special embassy on the occasion of the Congress. He started on the following day. The

members of the special embassy were as follows : the Earl of Beaconsfield and the Marquis of Salisbury (the two British Plenipotentiaries), with whom were associated Lord Odo Russell (afterwards Lord Ampthill, and at the time British Ambassador at Berlin), Mr. Philip Currie,¹ Mr. Montagu Corry,² the Hon. F. Bertie,³ as secretaries ; General Sir Lintorn Simmons, and Captain Ardagh, as technical and military advisers.

An English attaché, writing irreverently at the time about the characteristics of those set in authority over him, after describing Bismarck and Beaconsfield, and the nervous tension which prevailed in all diplomatic circles, goes on to say :

The only one who will keep calm and collected will be Captain Ardagh, R.E. He will have plenty of cold water to check the warmth of the Russian military asseverations and protestations ; but not a drop will either Eagle or Bear be able to pump out of him against his will. Meanwhile, the silence of suspense will reign in Downing Street. Then a telegram will come, and a hollow moan will reverberate through the deserted street. He who will groan this hollow moan will be Sir Stafford Northcote,⁴ for cash will be wanted in Berlin, and, come what may, cash will be wanted in St. Petersburg, in Constantinople, in Vienna, in Athens, in Cairo ; cash will be wanted everywhere !

¹ Afterwards Lord Currie.

² Afterwards Lord Rowton.

³ Now the Right Hon. Sir Francis Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris.

⁴ Sir Stafford Northcote, afterwards first Earl of Iddesleigh, who was at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Of this period of his services Captain Ardagh seems to have kept no record, probably because he had no time for anything except the toil which every day brought and the obligatory entertainments of every night, such as dinners and receptions at the Palace and the various Embassies ; but he carefully preserved the large number of draft propositions made concerning the boundaries in dispute. These drafts are all in his own handwriting and testify to the thoroughness of his work. Considerable difficulty was experienced in arranging the terms and some of the drafts had to be written over and over again before they could be brought into harmony with the views of the majority of the Plenipotentiaries. Finally an agreement was arrived at which satisfied six out of seven of the Powers represented—namely, England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Turkey ; Russia being always in a minority of one. On July 13 the technical delegates met to sign the maps, Colonel Bogoliubow, the Russian representative, being, as usual, in a water-tight compartment by himself and leaving without signing or consenting to his map being corrected, although it differed from every one else's. At the end of the Congress Sir Lintorn Simmons and Captain Ardagh were thanked, both by Lord Salisbury (Foreign Secretary) and H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief, for the “great services they had rendered to H.M.'s Plenipotentiaries, more especially in regard to questions of mili-

tary topography and the delimitation of boundaries."

Captain Ardagh returned to London and resumed his duties at the Intelligence Department.

For his services on this occasion Captain Ardagh received the Civil C.B., a distinction rarely conferred on an officer below Field rank.

Lord Beaconsfield, in a letter dated from Osborne on July 22, writes as follows :

I have brought before the Queen your able and valuable services during the Congress of Berlin, and previously in the scene of war.

CHAPTER V

BULGARIAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION

1878

International amenities—The dogs of Constantinople—The new Bridge—Turkish misgovernment—Defences of the Bosphorus—Brigandage in the Tekir Dagħ—The Dobrudscha Boundary—Dinner party in a mud hut—Commencement of the new frontier—Hard work and bad food—Shooting for the pot—Return to Constantinople—"Finishing" the plans of the new boundary—Signature of the plans.

IN September of the same year Captain Ardagh seems to have entertained a modest hope that he might enjoy a short holiday and go up to Minto to pay a visit to his friends there, but on the very day of his arrival he was recalled by telegram and attached with two other officers to assist Colonel Home, R.E., who had been appointed British member of the International Commission for the Delimitation of the Frontiers of the new Principality of Bulgaria. He left five days later for Constantinople.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *October 1*, 1878.¹—We arrived here on the 20th, in the middle of Ramadan, when the Moslem fasts from sunrise to sunset; to this has succeeded Bairam, during which he

¹ Illustrated Note-book, 1878.

endeavours to make up for lost time by a total cessation from every business except that of feeding. The authorities do not even feel equal to appointing commissioners to act for them in the delimitation of the boundaries during this happy period, but to-day being the last day, we expect to hear of the appointment of our Turkish colleagues to-morrow. It would seem a simple matter to find a suitable person, but the Porte with perverse ingenuity contemplates naming an officer who speaks no language but his own to represent the Sultan's interests on an International Commission. Whether this monstrous absurdity will be persisted in, in the face of the remonstrances of the Powers, remains to be seen, but at least it will produce a certain delay and, as time is of importance in consequence of the approach of winter, it is not improbable that, by raising this and other obstacles, the commencement of our labours may be postponed to so late a date as to render it practically impossible to make any progress during the present season.

Last night we gave a dinner to our *confrères*. "We" means Colonel Home, Captain Clarke,¹ myself, Captain Murray,² and Lieutenant Cherm-side,³ who has been in Turkey ever since my last visit. Our guests were : Russia—Colonel Bogoliubow ; Austria—Colonel Baron de Ripp and Captain Count Wurmbrand ; France—Colonel Lemoine ; Italy—Colonel Orrero and Captain Fornaghi, all of these Commissioners for the Delimitation of the Boundaries. Logothetti, the hotel-keeper, declared that he had engaged the best chef in Pera, and the result was, on the whole,

¹ Afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. H. Clarke, C.M.G. Died 1893.

² Now Colonel Sir C. Wyndham Murray, K.C.B.

³ Now Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Cherm-side, R.E., G.C.M.G.

not bad. He charged extravagant prices, but everything is extravagantly dear in Pera, and it is well worth spending a little money to further the good feeling, intimacy and knowledge of character which a little conviviality tends to produce. By the time coffee and cigarettes had been handed round, views began to be exchanged freely, and before we separated—which was rather late—a good deal of business had been talked over. The first formal meeting was fixed for to-morrow. Well begun is half done.

I perceive no change in Constantinople. The streets of Pera are still the worst paved in Europe. Dogs still perform the office of scavengers and render night hideous by their combats.

These dogs are an interesting study. Half jackal, half cur, usually tawny or brown and in size midway between a terrier and a collie, born and bred in the street. Not in any street, however, for each tribe has a street of its own and is jealous of its rights, resenting the intrusion of strangers. Existing only on tolerance and subject to cruel ill-usage, particularly from Christians, they might reasonably be expected to have a strong animosity towards the human race, but it is not so, for they readily respond to the smallest kindness and soon show attachment to the residents of their quarter. A remarkable peculiarity of these dogs is that hydrophobia is said to be quite unknown amongst them. All day long they sleep—in the street, on the pavement, everywhere—usually in families; I once counted seventeen huddled up together. About midnight they wake up for their nocturnal prowls, make raids into other quarters, carry on war with other tribes, barking and howling without intermission. In the country villages the dogs are larger and fiercer, of a kind half mastiff and half hyaena, and quite able to defend their flocks against wolves and foxes. These

brutes are rather dangerous. When I was coming home one night during the time I was surveying the position in front of Constantinople with a mounted zaptieh (gendarme), we were surrounded by a pack of ferocious animals who came so close as to snap at the zaptieh's rifle, and only retired after some were wounded by our fire. On another occasion at that time, a dog flew at Colonel Home who was riding a pony, caught his trousers at the knee and hung on till he drew his revolver and shot it.

Returning to nocturnal disturbances, there is a sort of "Charlie," a night watchman who, instead of crying "All's well," is furnished with a heavy, iron-tipped staff, which he pounds on the pavement to awaken the weary sleeper and give timely warning of his approach to the honest burglar; and last, but not least, the vicious hum of the mosquito and the silent onslaught of the omnipresent F sharp and B flat.

The most curious sight here is what they are pleased to call the "New Bridge," over the Golden Horn, which, like other novelties, had its day of newness and that was long ago—so long ago that several newer ones exist, of which the last is quite close and was destined to supersede it. On this hangs a tale characteristic of the way things are done in Turkey. The new bridge (*i.e.* the very last) was built about four years ago, but the builders reckoned without their host. The Porte still owes money to the contractor, but that is not unusual; he finished the bridge, however, and it was ready to be opened, greatly to the dismay of a retired sultana, in whom are vested the tolls of the existing bridge, which brings in a very large revenue. One fine day there came a Turkish frigate and a collision ensued in which the bridge, which is formed of pontoons or boats, got very much the worst of it, and was so severely damaged that a large sum was needed for its repair.

That sum the Porte declined to pay, so the bridge remained useless.

Suspicious persons declare that there was an understanding between the sultana and the captain and that the *accident* was not quite accidental. But lately, after many vain petitions for the repair of the structure, a benevolent person came forward and offered to execute it entirely at his own cost and to pay all arrears. One would have expected to find the Government only too ready to accede to such a liberal offer; but no—the sultana, by influence and backsheesh, prevailed on the Council of State to refuse the gift and the bridge remains impassable.

I should like to tell you of several other swindles, but time would fail me to relate all these iniquities. I was in hopes that the Government would have been a little purified and purged of corruption by war and trial, but I hear of no improvement. Financial embarrassment and internal disorder have increased; injustice and corruption have not diminished. The only bright spots in so dark a picture are the Moslem peasant and soldier.

The wretched soldiers have, I hear, received no pay for fifty-five months; they receive rations, are clothed more or less, have arms and ammunition, and are cheerful and contented.

October 7.—On October 4 we rode out to Makrikeui to see Baker Pasha, who is now in command of a corps charged with the defence of the southern half of the line of works lately thrown up for the defence of Constantinople, during the Russian occupation of San Stefano. There was much unnecessary delay in the commencement of these lines. When Mukhtar Pasha agreed ¹ to the occupation of the

¹ By the terms of the preliminaries of peace signed at Adrianople, January 31, 1878.

main line of defence, from Buyuk-Tchekmedjé to Derkos, by the Russians, Constantinople was virtually defenceless, the great barracks of Daoud Pasha and Ramid Tchiftlik being the only works in front of the old walls of Constantinople. April and May passed and it was not until June that the new line became an efficient element in the defence. At the time of the Congress it had become so strong that an attack by the Russians would probably have failed. Baker Pasha merits the greatest praise for his constant exertions in procuring the commencement and supervising the execution of the works. With an indifferently educated Turkish staff and no engineers many mistakes naturally occurred, but, as a whole, these fortifications reflect the greatest credit on him. The lines run from the Sea of Marmara in front of the villages of Makrikeui, Indjirkeui, Vidos, Litros, and Kutchukkeui, with a detached advanced position to the north-west of the latter village. From here the line now runs by a series of detached works to the Black Sea, near Kilios and Domus Déré. At first, however, the line consisted of two separate series of entrenchments, the northern portion extending from the head of the Buyukdéré Valley along the range of heights to the north of Buyukdéré as far as the Bosphorus.¹

This Buyukdéré position was intended solely for the defence of the gorges of the batteries on the western shore of the Bosphorus and the points from which the really important defences of that channel on its eastern shore could be commanded; and as far as we, as a maritime power, are interested, the occupation of these batteries or of commanding points on the Bosphorus which would enable an enemy to erect other batteries, or even to bring heavy guns and torpedoes into operation for the defence of the passage against our ships, would be

¹ Plans for the forts were drawn by Capt. Fraser, R.E.

of far more gravity than the actual occupation of Constantinople.

The principal impression which the lines as they now stand leave on the mind is that of scandalous and criminal neglect on the part of the Government and the officers, who, for a year or more, omitted to avail themselves of this excellent position and finally gave it up without a struggle. If crucifixion and impalement were still in vogue (as Mr. MacColl thinks), Suleiman, Mahmoud Damat, Redif and a host of others merit these punishments for their infamous mismanagement. For a General there are but two alternative judgments. His motives have either been loyal or treasonable. In the former case, his acts may have been imprudent and ill-judged, but those who appointed him must bear the responsibility. In the latter case his life should be forfeit. My impression is that Suleiman merited death, if anything.

Captain Ardagh then goes on to describe Baker Pasha's works in detail, and continues :

The Turkish fleet lying off Makrikeui and San Stefano could see all the ground over which the Russians could advance, and Baker Pasha had devised an ingenious and very practical method of facilitating its co-operation, and ensuring the accuracy of its fire. He had a map of the ground which was within range of the guns of the fleet, and on it were drawn squares of five hundred yards, each square being numbered. A copy of the map was supplied to each ship. On the most elevated points of the position he had signal stations from which every part of the front could be seen, and from which the numbers of the squares in which the enemy was in force, and where fire was wanted, were to be signalled to the vessels, which could

thereupon lay for direction and distance without even seeing the object they were firing at. . . .

October 11.—The Turkish members of the Commission have only to-day been appointed. . . .

RODOSTO, October 15.—Sir Henry Layard having deputed me to inquire into cases of brigandage in the Tekir Dagħ and the mountains north of Rodosto, and to report upon the withdrawal of the Russians. I left Constantinople this morning by the local Mahoussé steamer . . . and anchored at Rodosto at 6 p.m.

The country is in a very disturbed condition, and, though the Turks are fully re-established in the town, reports of murders and other acts of violence in the adjacent country appear to have been received every day since the departure of the Russians. In fact, the Russians during their stay seem to have conducted themselves very well on the whole, and to have maintained order. Some of the women complained of them, but as a rule their departure was much regretted, as they spent money freely. As an example of the extortion probably submitted to by the Russians, *hamals* (porters) asked five francs each for carrying a load half a mile, and were very unhappy at only receiving one, which seemed to me liberal enough.

After spending a night in a horribly dirty Greek house, Captain Ardagh was hospitably received by the English Vice-Consul, M. Dussi.

The result of his inquiry, briefly, was as follows :

As the Mussulman inhabitants of most of the villages abandoned their houses and took refuge in Constantinople at the approach of the Russians, and as several of these villages were pillaged and burnt shortly afterwards by the inhabitants of

the Christian villages, generally Greek, it is easy to understand that the Mussulman refugees cherished feelings of resentment towards those who had so injured them and that manifestations of revenge and violence on their part were to be expected, when they returned and found their hearths desolate. It must also be remembered that these refugees, who had lost their homes, cattle, agricultural implements, and who had no means of replacing them, were driven by want to steal food—at any rate—for their daily subsistence. On the whole, it would appear that since the re-occupation of the country by the Ottoman authorities these thefts and acts of violence were less frequent than might have been expected. There seemed to be no doubt that disturbances among the Christians were fomented by the Russians, who wished for an excuse to re-occupy the country. Captain Ardagh was assured on good authority that a large sum of money was left at Malgara for the purpose. There was probably some truth in this.

TATAR-OGLU-BAZARDJIK, 34 *miles north of* VARNA, *October 28, 1878.*—The Commission at last fixed on November 2 as a rendezvous day at Silistria, to commence the Dobrudscha boundary. Lieutenant Chermside, Van Lennep and I left Constantinople on the 25th inst. for Varna. In consequence of the scarcity of transport, Chermside and I took horses across country to Silistria with an escort of Hussars, one sergeant and six men, and sent the baggage round by rail to Rustchuk. We reached Bazardjik in two days' march, and found a squadron of Cossacks there under orders to act as escort to the Commission. They make the distance to Silistria in four marches. We wanted to do it in three, but agreed at last to march with them up to noon on the third day, when we shall arrive at Buyuk-

Kainardji (a village, the companion of the Rustchuk-Kainardji, at which the treaty was signed), and we, leaving the escort, continue on to Silistria the same day.

ARABDJILAR, *between* VARNA *and* SILISTRIA, October 30, 1878.—Yesterday we marched from Hadji-Oglu-Bazardjik to Karapelit (16 miles). In the afternoon we paid a visit to the officers of our Cossack escort, neither of whom speak a word of any language but their own. They treated us to tea and cigarettes, and paid us a return visit at which rum and caviare formed the entertainment. A Cossack who had been left behind to *faire la chasse* bagged, among other game, a brace of partridges and a mallard which he brought us as a present. (Nothing will persuade our servant that the mallard was not a denizen of the village.) To-morrow the officers propose to do a little *chasse en route* and have invited us to join. They have a leash of greyhounds indigenous to the Dobrudscha and, by extending a detachment of Cossacks in skirmishing order, they beat up the covers.

This morning, after a prolonged interview with successive detachments of fleas, we were glad to be up before dawn and off shortly before sunrise. A gallop of half an hour brought us up with the escort and we opened out to draw, but in vain. We had a blank day. The escort sang for a great part of the way a species of glee or madrigal, very melodious and very creditably performed. The officers say they sing all day long.

We have found quarters here in a mud hut apparently clean, but jumping with fleas.

Our larder having been replenished with partridge and mallard (?), we determined to give a dinner. Table-cloths there were none, but a clean sheet was discovered, two napkins and a pocket-handkerchief were temporarily detached

for duty and a very promiscuous assortment of knives, some of which dated from my college days, the more recent from the canteen which Melgund presented to me on the eve of my departure.

The dinner was a decided success. Conversation was carried on through our Polish interpreter, who incidentally inquired whether the English practice of cutting beefsteaks off the living animal still continued!

SILISTRIA, *November 4.*—We arrived here on the 31st ult. and the members of the Commission came down by steamer from Rustchuk on the 2nd. Chermside and I made a reconnaissance of the environs of Silistria. . . .

On board the Austrian Lloyd steamship "Vesta," VARNA, *November 20, 1878.*—On November 5 and 6, both somewhat rainy days, we laid out the point at which the new frontier is to commence on the Danube to the east of Silistria. I have made a special survey of the vicinity for the Commission on a scale of 1 to 3,000. We also began surveying the line of country through which the boundary will pass.

On the 7th the whole Commission marched to Almalü, Chermside and I following in a carriage when we had finished our day's work. Up to this time the direction of the topographical operations was supposed to lie with me, but there appeared to be some jealousy on the part of the Commissioners at placing it in the hands of an Englishman, so Commandant Lemoine, the French Commissioner, was placed nominally in charge, the various officers working under him.

On the 8th we moved to Giritza; on the 9th to Kranova, remaining there on the 10th; marching to Dobrimir on the 11th, and to Deliyusuf on the 12th; to Dèré-keui on the 13th, and to Kadi-keui on the 14th. The camp stood there for the

15th and 16th, when, the whole line having been traversed, we marched for Varna and arrived at Yelend-jik, a village about four miles N.E. of Hadji-Oglu-Bazardjik.

During all this time Chermside and I worked all day long. We had breakfast a little after sunrise and immediately afterwards started on horseback to sketch the portion of country allotted to us. Each had a Cossack orderly to hold his horse when he was at work on foot and we carried our midday meal in our saddle-bags or holsters. We continued surveying until after sunset and then started on a voyage of discovery through a rough, wild country to find our camp, which had been shifted during the day. By the merest accident it happened twice that Chermside and I met on the way home in some obscure village in the dark, when our Cossacks showed considerable surprise and admiration at our skill in arranging the rendezvous, particularly as my custom was to take a straight line across country by compass to my destination and pay no attention to the tracks, except when they were very obviously in the right direction. We usually got into camp in time for dinner at seven, but twice not until much later. One day the Commission played us the practical joke of naming two villages as alternative camping-grounds and then going on to another, the first being burned or too miserable to stay in. These days were very fatiguing. The longest distance I did was 31 kilomètres of road survey and then 32 kilomètres of ride home, equivalent to about twenty miles on foot and twenty on horseback.

Our camp consisted of about nine tents, of which Chermside and I occupied one. Our cook turned out excessively badly and we "pigged it" in the matter of messing. I tried to keep things up to the mark and obtained an unenviable notoriety

in a *vers d'occasion* by Chermside, who is a writer of nonsense rhymes :

There was a gay captain called Ardagh,
Who kept a sharp eye on the larder ;
When his servant was late,
Him he soundly did rate,
When too early he swore at him harder.

The weather on the whole was very favourable: we had only one wet day and a few showers. Some nights were so excessively cold that my sponge became a rock of ice, which needed a boiling to thaw it.

The first half of the country from Silistria to Deliyusuf-kuyusu, or "Mad Joseph's Well," is more or less wooded, in some places densely, the oak forming the principal part of the scrub and forest. . . . In the other half, towards Mangalia, the open country literally teems with partridge. In the course of a day's work I must often have seen at least eighty coveys of from five to twenty birds each. There are plenty of vultures, eagles and hawks, so the partridges lie well. There are also bustards both great and small, quail a few, plenty of hares and on the lake of Mangalia I saw quantities of duck and curlew.

A Cossack trumpeter was the principal sportsman. He possessed an ancient flint single-barrel and was popularly supposed to cut up the bullets of his service ammunition into slugs. Our Cossack conducted his operations with a sort of sail or *tente d'abri*, which he carried with him on his saddle. Having marked a covey, he primed and set up his apparatus, concealed himself behind it, advanced, waited till he could cover half a dozen birds sitting and then let fly.

As for the boundary, it has gone as smoothly as a solid majority of six to one could make it. Colonel Bogoliubow forms a standing minority

by himself. There is little excitement in foregone conclusions.

Clarke, Chermiside and I left the camp on the 18th at 8 a.m. in a springless *araba* and after eight hours' jolting arrived at the Hôtel d'Angleterre, Varna, to work up our drawings and make arrangements for the advent of the rest of the party, who arrived on the following day.

Since we were last here the Turks have completed the evacuation and the town is now garrisoned by Russians. Poor old Ahmed Kaiserli Pasha, the last Vali of Tuna,¹ returned to Constantinople and died there a few days later. He was a captain at Navarino and commanded one of the ships which did not surrender.

When the Russian Commandant of Varna recently changed his quarters into the house of a Greek merchant, he found there a picture of the Emperor Alexander with a subscription: "The oppressor of 54." Asked what he meant by having such a picture, the Greek replied that he had purchased it in compliment to the Russians. The general, enraged, told him that if he believed that he understood the language, he would have him beaten to death.

PERA, *November 26*.—We arrived at Constantinople in the *Vesta* from Varna on the 21st, carrying with us, *nolens volens*, the British Consul and the Manager of the Ottoman Bank, who had kindly come on board to see us off.

Since our arrival I have been occupied morning, noon and night, in compiling a map of the new frontier from the sketches of the various officers, English, Turkish, Roumanian and Russian, who undertook that work. We ourselves have done about two-thirds of the whole and I think our work is turned out the best. The Russian surveys are neat and accurate, but it took a party of half a

¹ Tuna=Donau=Danube.

dozen to make one sketch. The Roumanians and Turkish plans are very poor, particularly the latter, although each party comprised three or four persons, while we worked each for himself, with only the assistance of a Cossack to hold his horse and usually got over more ground. There are thirty-four different sketches, of which we contribute twenty. It may be imagined that the task of fitting all these together was no easy one, as every nation had its own style of topographical drawing and every compass its own variation—not to mention the length of paces. As far as I can see, the result is fairly satisfactory, and it would have been more so had the Commission better known its own mind, for we now find that a portion of the frontier has not been surveyed at all !

November 30.—The Commission met yesterday and to-day. The map of the frontier was produced. It is twelve feet in length, and accords with the geodesical calculations I have made. It is now settled that Clarke is to go to Asia Minor as British Commissioner for the delimitation of that frontier ; Chermiside to remain in Turkey ; Home to go to Cyprus and thence to England and Murray and I home direct. Meanwhile I have to get eight copies of the trace of the frontier finished by Tuesday to attach to the Protocols for the Powers and for Roumania.

December 4.—At last a breathing space. I worked with a sergeant and corporal and now and then a Turkish officer, all Sunday and Monday, and last night left the plans complete, except for the printing or writing, in the hands of certain people who professed to be *Caligraphes*, to finish. They did finish them. Children's scrawls would have been more legible than their abominable caligraphy.

December 11.—Major Wilson, R.E.,¹ and Ross of

¹ The late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.,

Bladensburg,¹ of the Grenadiers, the British constituents of the Servian Commission, arrived, viâ Varna, on the 4th. They had rather a rough time of it, not having brought tents with them, and having found the villages exceedingly dirty. They formed a low opinion of the Servians, and a very high one of the Albanians, whom they describe as a splendid race.

I met Mr.² and Mrs. Brassey, of the *Sunbeam*, at dinner at Mr. Whittaker's on Sunday, and yesterday paid a visit to their yacht, which is a perfect magazine of curiosities. Miss Mabelle Brassey,³ age under thirteen, was a charming cicerone, having travelled more in her short life than most sailors, even, of that age. She had been eleven times across the Bay. Sir Collingwood Dickson arrived that night with the welcome news that I had been gazetted Brevet-Major on the 30th, with McCalmont, 7th Hussars,⁴ Fife, Trotter⁵ and Fraser, R.E.,⁶ and Clarke, R.A.—all for services performed during the war as Attachés and on special duty.

Home is ill in bed with a touch of fever; anxious, yet won't see a doctor.

December 17.—Yesterday the Commission met to sign the documents and plans descriptive of the Roumano-Bulgarian frontier. Bogoliubow arrived and sprung his mine, announcing that he refused to sign, alleging discrepancies in the map and accusing the Commissioners of partiality, favour, and affection.

A stormy debate ensued, and this morning the Commission met again here, at our hotel, Home

¹ Now Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Ross, of Bladensburg, K.C.B.

² The present Lord Brassey.

³ Now Mrs. Charles Egerton.

⁴ Now Major-General Sir Hugh MacCalmont, K.C.B., C.V.O.

⁵ Now Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B.

⁶ Now Major-General Sir Thomas Fraser, K.C.B., C.M.G.

being still too ill to go out ; all signed, with the exception of Bogoliubow, who recorded on the proceedings that he had stated his inability to fix a day on which he might have instructions from his Government on the subject.

We take with us all the original sketches to prepare a more careful assemblage of them at Adair House.

CHAPTER VI

BULGARIAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION, 1879

Preliminary meetings of the Commission—Lashkareff and Skobelev at Plevna—Dining with a Russian battery—The Russians dine with Major Ardagh—Surveying in the snow—Rose-culture at Rahmanli—The Shipka Pass—Delimitation of the Shipka Frontier—The Hain-keui Pass—The Tvarditza Pass—Arming the Bulgarians—Transport difficulties—The Commission divides—"Don"—Rustchuk *en fête*.

SINCE the completion of our work in the Dobrudscha last autumn many changes have taken place.¹

Poor Colonel Home was already ill before we left Constantinople for England, but continued to work, in spite of all the remonstrances of his friends, until he actually collapsed on January 3. After a very severe attack of typhoid, we believed him to be out of danger, but peritonitis set in and was rapidly followed by perforation and death. The arrangements consequent on his death and of many of his private affairs, besides the business of the Boundary Commission, devolved upon me.

When the time approached for resuming our labours in the East on the coming of spring, Major-General Hamley, C.B., late Commandant of the Staff College, was nominated to succeed him as H.M.'s Commissioner. The other members of the Commission, as reconstituted, are myself,

¹ Major Ardagh's diary.

Captain Elles,¹ R.A., Captain D. Jones, R.A., Captain Everett,² 33rd, Lieutenant Hare, R.E., Dr. Exham, and two N.C.O.'s of Engineers.

The Commission is to meet on April 15, but the Foreign Office being anxious to have General Hamley at Constantinople, he and I left England on March 27, while the others followed by the next steamer a week later.

On board with us are Captain Gill, R.E., who is going to watch the delimitation of the Armenian and Khotour frontiers, with Major Clarke, R.A., Major Gordon, 93rd, Commissioners for the Boundaries of Eastern Roumelia, and "Beauty" Stephens of the Foreign Office, taking a trip as Queen's messenger.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *April 4*.—There was a reception last night at the Swedish Legation in honour of Prince Oscar. All the leading political and diplomatic people were present—Khaireddin, the Grand Vizier, Karatheodori, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Capitan Pasha, Prince Labanoff, Counts Corti, Hatzfeldt,³ Malet,⁴ etc., etc.

April 4.—The Commission has met four times, and differences of opinion have already arisen. General Hamley has proposed that the English officers should begin as soon as possible the delimitation of that part of the frontier from Ichtiman to the summit of the Rhodope which had been left uncompleted by the Russians. I was therefore ordered to proceed to the frontier in charge of the

¹ Now Lieutenant-General Sir Edmond Roche Elles, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.

² Afterwards Colonel Sir William Everett, K.C.M.G. Died 1908.

³ Counts Corti and Hatzfeldt were afterwards Italian and German Ambassadors respectively at the Court of St. James's.

⁴ Then Secretary of the British Embassy, afterwards Sir Edward Malet, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., P.C. British Ambassador at Berlin 1884, 1895. Died 1908.

surveying party, Everett, Elles, Hare, Dr. Exham, and Mr. Cullen, interpreter.

TATAR-BAZARDJIK, *May 2*.—Leaving Constantinople by rail on the 29th ult., we reached this place on the evening of the 30th, and yesterday I called on General Lashkareff, commanding the district, with a view to arranging for escort and transport. It was not, however, until my requests had been made known to Stolypin at Philippopolis that they were granted, and the reference caused some delay.

Lashkareff came and took tea with us at our dinner-hour, and we passed a very agreeable evening in his company. He was amusing about Skobelev, who, for the rest, is a great ally of his. A propos of Skobelev's fondness of display, he relates that at Plevna the emperor, hearing firing one night, sent to inquire of him what it was and, as Lashkareff's cavalry pickets were far in advance of Skobelev's troops who were firing, he replied: "C'est le Général Skobelev qui s'amuse!" Skobelev's own account was that he had been attacked in force and had repulsed the enemy.

Confirmation exists of some reports which reached us at Constantinople respecting the arming and drilling by Russia of the Roumelian Bulgarians. On the way up we observed that most of the peasants were carrying rifles, and that in many places large numbers of them were shooting at targets under the instruction of Russian officers.

This morning a crowd of Bulgarians came out to inspect our camp and, concluding that we were the principal officers of the expected and hated Army of Mixed Occupation, expressed a desire, which no doubt they felt, to kill us, but a Russian cavalry escort was posted in the course of the afternoon and no further demonstration was made.

SIPOC, *May 5*.—We reached this mountain village (3,255 feet above sea-level) last night after

a two-days' march—the latter part through fine scenery—and the night before we left our camp at Bazardjik we lost our dinner in rather a peculiar way. While sitting in our mess-tent, the cook appeared carrying in his arms a good-sized lamb which he deposited in front of the tent door, declaring it to be suffering from disease and unfit for food. With dulled eye and open mouth the lamb lay panting on the ground, apparently *in extremis*. Expert opinion in the shape of our doctor being called in, we stood round rather anxiously awaiting a decision when, on being lifted gently by its wool to its legs to see if it could stand, with one bound that famous comedian of a lamb placed himself out of our reach ; with a few more he, and with him all chance of dinner, disappeared into a field of standing oats and, in spite of all our efforts to discover his whereabouts, passed from our ken for ever.

Colonel Leslie commands a regiment of Hussars at Samakov. He is a handsome and very agreeable man about 35 years of age, of Scotch descent, but, as he says, a thorough Russian, and unable to speak a word of English. His grandfather was highly esteemed by the Empress Catherine for the capture of a fortress by a regiment of cavalry—Ismail, in 1809. See Byron for the conduct of the Grenadiers on that occasion.

The rain being heavy and rendering our operations almost impossible, we accepted an invitation from the officers of the 5th battery stationed here, to their annual fête, and arrived at two o'clock, as they were finishing their repast, and were proposing toasts. . . . "No heel-taps" was the order of the day and champagne was served in large German glass beer-mugs. The fare was varied occasionally by rum punch, hot and strong, the corners filled in by liqueurs and by ices made from the snow of Rhodope. The band of the

Hussars played all the time Russian, Bulgarian and operatic music. In the absence of ladies, the officers danced with one another. Colonel Leslie went through a mazurka with a very fat major, who displayed a proficiency in the *can-can* which would have made Mabile turn green with envy. Hare and I were plied with every sort of liqueur and he took his share manfully, but I found that it was considered a breach of courtesy to be moderate and fear that I may have given a little offence.

As they were evidently determined to make a night of it, we decamped, not without some difficulty, for the colonel would not allow us to move without taking the Hussar escort, which was to relieve the Dragoons who had taken us from Tatar-Bazardjik. We got home at last at eight o'clock.

May 8.—Continuous rain has fallen ever since our arrival, but to-day it ceased, so we all got to work, sketching, observing, erecting trigonometrical stations, etc. . . .

Colonel Leslie and some of his officers dined with us, and our cook served up a very passable menu. The repast came to an end in a reasonable time, but the subsequent sitting was prolonged into the small hours, accompanied by songs in Russian, French, German and English. At last they left at half-past one and if Lieutenant Schneider, whom we lifted on to his horse, got home safely, it is to the latter alone that the credit belongs. Colonel Leslie and Baron Krudener went home in a carriage which, under the circumstances, was safer. Zuloff slept in my tent and snored horribly.

May 13.—Heavy rain and snow have made our operations difficult. We are at an altitude of 4,000 feet. This being May-day (old style) and a great Russian fête, the Hussars in Samakov have invited us to an entertainment. Outposts, placed on the principal roads, seize all the delicacies

in the shape of fowls and vegetables coming in to market. The stout major was himself seen instructing a tinker in the art of making blancmange moulds. Eight dozen of champagne and two hundred bottles of other liquors have been laid in, which will, it is hoped, prove amply inebriating among the eighty guests expected. Real ladies, too, are coming from Sofia for the occasion. Out-of-door work will apparently be impossible.

May 14.—The weather was so bad yesterday that the fête had to be given up. An order has just been circulated at Sofia that the houses of absentee Turks are to be sold for the benefit of the municipality unless their owners appear within a few days. Two-thirds of the Turkish houses at Samakov have been destroyed and the remaining Moslems would willingly leave if they could sell their things. Infamous oppression prevails. Would that Gladstone and his followers could share the misery for which they are responsible.

Camp on VELIKA BISTRIZA, May 18.—For some days our work has lain among mountains of from 5,000 to 9,000 feet in height and covered with snow. To-day an endeavour was made by all of us to test the quality of the snow at the higher levels. We found it both soft and deep. The whole party frequently sank into it up to their waists or over and by the time an altitude of 7,000 feet was reached, on one of the lower summits of the Chadir Tèpé, some of the party, including our Bulgarian guide, an experienced mountaineer, were much exhausted. Therefore I deemed it prudent to desist from attempting to get any higher, especially as the state of the snow would preclude the possibility of taking geometrical observations. Moreover, further observations were not vital to our survey, for, notwithstanding the exceptionally bad weather which has been encountered since we reached the scene of our opera-

tions, it stands now practically completed—a fortunate circumstance, as I have just learned from General Hamley that the whole Commission will arrive at Banja to-morrow, where Everett and I go to meet them with as much of the work as is finished.

SAMAKOV, *May 19.*—The Commission, consisting of General Hamley, Colonel Bogoliubow, Count Wedel, Commandant Lemoine, Captain Pallavicino, Tahir Pasha, Colonel Orrero, Baron de Ripp, Captains Schneur and Marmier, Papasian Effendi and Hassan Bey, arrived at Banja this morning. It then sub-divided itself into two parties, the seven first mentioned accompanying Captain James and myself, taking the road by Guzal as far as the water-shed, and then following the frontier line southward to Belova Planina. The remainder of the Commission, with Captain Everett, marched by Radvil and Sumnatitza and joined us here this evening.

May 25.—We are now in the mountain range which unites the Balkan to the Rhodope. To-day we passed through the ruins of the village of Tcherkess-keui, whose name indicates what it was—a Circassian settlement. Not a single house remained. Thus it is wherever one goes. The Mohammedans have been ejected, root and branch, and can never return; their property and goods have been plundered by the Bulgarians, with the aid of the Russians. The “bag and baggage” policy has been carried out to the bitter end.

RAHMANLI, *May 28.*—Most of the Turks have been evicted from here, and nearly all who remain are ruined.

Here the district of rose-culture commences, extending eastward as far as Karlovo, and the lower slopes of the hills are covered with rose-gardens and vineyards. Many stills are at work already. They gather the rosebuds in the morning,

distil eight *okes* with eight gallons of water, then re-distil, and ultimately the wholesale price is over £50 per kilogramme. Most of the rose-gardens belonged to Turks who have been driven away, and are now cultivated by Bulgarians who are supposed to reserve 30 per cent. of the produce for the owners, in case they return! To-night we settled the frontier as far as the Rabanitza (or Rivaritza) Pass, 5,300 feet high.

KARLOVO, *May 31*.—The Commission has developed a tendency to avoid ascending the mountains whenever an excuse can be found and at this rate will complete the delimitation by July. Personally I much disapprove of the perfunctory manner in which the work is performed, but it is useless to protest.

We have now had a week of uninterrupted fine weather, so hot that it is difficult to believe we were freezing only a fortnight ago at Samakov.

In Camp, two miles from SHIPKA, June 3.—During the Turkish attack on Shipka the army formed an entrenched camp round the grove of Shenovo, some of the works being constructed on or around existing *tèpés*, or *tumuli*, of which a considerable number are found. The other works are petty circular earthen redoubts. The character of these *tumuli* is of a very primitive description, being precisely similar to the entrenchments in England and Ireland attributed to the Romans and Danes, but probably of older date.

The army, attacked by Radetsky, Mirsky and Skobeleff, having capitulated, involved in its surrender the garrison of the Turkish works on the Shipka, after four months' ineffectual endeavour to drive the Russians out of Fort San Nikola.

June 4.—The Commission ascended the Shipka Pass. It took two hours to reach Fort San Nikola, which lies three hundred yards south of the water-

shed. The nearest Turkish works held during the contest were about three hundred yards further south and two hundred lower down. How they were held is an example of the pertinacious valour of the Ottoman troops. The adjacent summits were occupied by Turks also and the little work on Fort San Nikola was exposed to a storm of fire on three sides. At every step the ground is strewn with fragments of shell. There is literally so much lying about that it would be profitable to collect it on a large scale.

June 5.—The Shipka frontier was settled to-day, and is so drawn that a large cemetery, in which many of the gallant defenders of Fort San Nikola are interred, lies on the Bulgarian side. This decision was arrived at unanimously.

KASANLYK, *June 6.*—Everett and Elles, being no longer required for surveying and the former having completed the fair copy of the map of the frontier between Tchiman and Rhodope on which he has been at work, were ordered to return by General Hamley and left to-day for Philippopolis.

The Commission subscribed to give an entertainment to the two squadrons of Dragoons now leaving us and were in their turn entertained by the officers of the squadrons at a sort of heavy picnic, which lasted from one to five and involved many toasts and much liquor.

HAIN-KEUI, *June 8.*—Marched from Kasanlyk to Jaikenli and on the next day along the valley of the Tundja to Hain-keui. On entering the village, the Commission was saluted by the militia, or armed inhabitants, about four hundred in number, to whom the Russians have supplied rifles, ammunition, and instructors.

Formerly singing was unknown among the Bulgarians, but they have of late been learning the military songs of the Russians, which they sing while marching. Singing is a part of the education

of the Russian soldier and a very wise arrangement it is ; the men enjoy it and their spirits are kept up amazingly under adverse circumstances by this bond of union, which enlivens their marches and bivouacs.

June 9.—The character of the Balkans near Hain-keui has nothing grand or picturesque about it. They are no longer mountains, but wooded hills. We all visited the Hain-keui Pass, celebrated as the road by which Gourko penetrated the Balkans. The road follows the valley of the Hain-keui-Dère with a gentle and uniform ascent, averaging 1 in 50 to 100 for 15 miles and then crosses the watershed at a low col, 2,200 feet above the sea. The valley and the slope are admirably suited for a railway : moderate gradients, very few bridges and viaducts and hardly any tunnels would be requisite. Half-way up was a large camp of Gourko's, composed of multitudes of little mud hovels or dens, made of wattle and daub, huddled together. It must have been a veritable pest-camp. At the very head of the valley a single divergence of the road, *en zig-zag* along the slope, leads to the col, which is very much lower than the surrounding hills. Hills they are here, and not mountains, resembling the rolling country in Devonshire and Dorsetshire, but less wild and more fertile. The whole pass south of the col is a magnificent beech forest, containing some enormous trees, which are so monotonously regular in form as to drive an artist to despair and rejoice the soul of a manufacturer of trees for a Noah's ark. It would appear that the "insurmountable" difficulties overcome by Gourko in his passage through this "frightful pass" are of a kind to be met with in any country lane in Surrey !

The heat is already considerable, and flies and insects begin to be annoying. Fire-flies abound. Night in all these regions is made hideous by the

croaking of innumerable frogs, which a vivid imagination might attribute to a flock of nightingales with bad sore throats. Storks are abundant, and join in the chorus with the chattering of their bills. Aristophanes must have resided in such a region. Dr. Exham has furnished the mess with quail and occasionally a hare or leveret. Doves abound, but are thin, as they are nesting. Tortoises are common, some over twelve inches in length. I cannot find that the inhabitants eat them ; the French soldiers, when we were at Varna, used to do so. The common vulture, the Egyptian vulture, white with black-tipped wings, the golden eagle and several varieties of hawk are always to be seen aloft and kingfishers, hoopoes and a very gorgeous variety of woodpecker, are not uncommon. Supplies are difficult to procure. Hardly a chicken and very few eggs. Beans, onions and cherries are tolerably abundant. No potatoes, no salad and bad bread.

In Camp at TVARDITZA (or FERDISH), June 11.—The Hain-keui Pass is a natural one ; the Ferdish Pass a work of art, zig-zags, and inclines ingeniously, though not too scientifically laid out. Previous to the last war the road was a mere track, the line of which was adopted as a basis for the existing road, which is new and has cost considerable labour, a great part being blasted out of solid gneiss, and lying throughout at the bottom of a long ravine. On either side are glimpses of interminable forest, which must afford haunts for all sorts of large game. They speak of bears, wolves, boar, deer, mouflon, etc., but of these not a sign was visible. This pass is by far the best we have yet seen as a line of communication for an army, but, in common with Hain-keui and Shipka, it would be a dreadful place for a beaten army to retreat through ; impossible, in fact.

June 13.—Marched along the valley of the

Tundja to Karasarli, and thence to Sliven, where we visited the Demir-Kapu Pass.

SLIVEN, *June 16*.—The order was to march at 8.30 as usual, but difficulties occurred about procuring *arabas* and until the necessary number had at last been requisitioned from among the miserable peasants, who had innocently come in to market (those wise in their generation had stayed at home), our start was delayed.

MOKRENI, *June 16*.—We reached this place after a march of fourteen hours and got no dinner till ten. On our march along the Karnabad road we met long trains of waggons loaded with rifle ammunition (Krinka, or Russian pattern, with which they have armed the Bulgarian population). Each waggon carried ten cases, each case 1,200 rounds, and we passed about four hundred waggons impressed at Burgas to carry the ammunition to Sliven ; 4,800,000 rounds therefore went up to-day ; and this has been going on for the last ten days, so that probably fifty millions of ball cartridge have been brought up to arm the population of Eastern Roumelia against their suzerain. And *this* is what the Russians call carrying out the Treaty of Berlin ! At Sliven, as elsewhere, the whole population is being drilled, not only on Sundays, but every morning.

June 17.—The *arabajis* bolted with their *arabas* during the night—no wonder, poor wretches, after the terrible day the oxen had yesterday—fourteen hours on the road. Their willingness to sacrifice their remuneration of four francs per *araba* shows how insufficient it must be,¹ yet we

¹ The Russians had undertaken to provide and pay for transport for the Commission, while the latter agreed afterwards to refund the cost. Grave doubts seem to have existed as to whether the Russians paid for what they requisitioned, considering the difficulty of procuring transport and the ill-will displayed by the owners of cattle.

are bound to accept what is provided, and no doubt doing so saves a certain amount of trouble. Other waggons, taken from the plough or their avocations, were impressed from the neighbouring fields, and at last we got off. It is owing to the constant repetition of such untoward incidents that so much delay and discomfort has been caused us. Naturally our rate of progress has depended throughout on that of the *arabas*—those ramshackle country carts which, with their tireless wooden wheels and bodies held together by string or withies, are always ready to collapse on the slightest provocation. Drawn by oxen or buffaloes—often mere calves—and holding at most 700 lb., their pace averages only two and a half miles an hour. Thus, fifteen miles—a fair day's march—require six hours ; twenty, nine hours ; twenty-five, thirteen hours or more ; and these calculations are made on the assumption that the roads are in fair condition, that they are not too hilly, and that no casualties occur *en route*. As the Commission with their orderlies, marching much faster, were often compelled to wait for hours in the open before the tents and baggage arrived, we have of late taken to sending on the cook in advance to ensure an evening meal at a reasonable hour.

Many stories of brigands reach us and we were told that the road we marched along the day before yesterday between Mokreni and Khotel is infested by them. No doubt this must always have been the case in the Balkans, but since the war numbers of Mohammedans, dispossessed and homeless, have taken to the road as a means of livelihood as well as to carry on a guerilla warfare. Thus, a week ago, four Russian non-commissioned officers were drilling the Bulgarian levies at Aidos, when a band of Turkish brigands opened fire upon them. Though armed and more numerous, the

Bulgars fled, leaving the Russian soldiers to be killed.

Last night a violent thunderstorm broke over our camp about 2 o'clock. A fine rain penetrated through the tent and descended gently on to my bed. This was soon remedied by a waterproof sheet, but as the storm increased in violence and a sound of rushing water became audible, I got out of bed and stepped into a torrent some inches deep. No trench had been dug to protect me from a contingency which long immunity had rendered improbable. Everything was soaked; the water rose inside my portmanteau and my slippers floated away in the stream.

VERBITZA, *June 21*.—Verbitza, which we reached yesterday evening, marching from Hamdalar, a miserable place, is a large and prosperous village of mixed Turks and Bulgarians. We are all lodged in the house of a young bey, the son of a pasha. The house, when in good preservation, must have been a very fine one. It contains two little Turkish baths. The ceilings, in plain wood, are panelled in arabesque patterns. The bey, our host, a young man of about nineteen, was attacked by Bulgarian brigands between here and Shumla about three weeks ago, and a ransom of a considerable sum was extorted from him by holding a knife at his throat.

June 22.—At yesterday's meeting it was decided to give a line slightly beyond the watershed as the frontier on the Kasan Pass. The Commission will now formally split into two parties. I go with Bogoliubow, de Ripp, Pallavicino, Marmier, Tahir Pasha and Papasian to the west. All do not travel together. Bogoliubow, de Ripp, Pallavicino and I proceed by Shumla, Rustchuk, Nikopoli and Plevna and reach Sofia on the 30th. The pasha and Papasian go to Adrianople to communicate with the Turkish Seraskierat

about an escort which we shall require at Palanka and Djuma, rejoining us later. General Hamley, Captain Jones, Dr. Exham and Mr. Cullen go on to the Black Sea and return to Constantinople viâ Varna, where they expect to arrive on July 2.

The pasha was most affectionate on parting and insisted on kissing me on both cheeks.

One member of our mess has not yet been mentioned: "Don," a pointer, of good breed but unknown origin. He attached himself to us when we camped near Samakov and declined to abandon us. I called him "Don" because he was supposed to belong to a Cossack from that region, but we believe him to be a gentlemanly dog of English descent. From the first moment of our alliance he repudiated all connection with other nationalities and has been as constant in his affections as if he had known us for years. Being young and untrained, he spent his first days in hunting every living creature, from a lizard to a vulture; but under the able direction of Dr. Exham, his latent talents have developed and he now points and stands very well. We have unanimously voted him a passage to England.

Our orderlies deserve a word. They are Russian Dragoons or Hussars, detached for duty with individual officers. They are most attentive and intelligent, gathering at once the purport of a movement, a sign, a glance, for none of us speak Russian. They receive a franc a day and are contented and sorry to leave.

RUSTCHUK, *June 24*.—We marched to Shumla, across the Dervish Balkan, which is covered with beech scrub and is a capital haunt for brigands. Yesterday a party of travellers was attacked and one killed. From Shumla we took the train to Rustchuk and found a triumphal arch being erected to welcome the arrival of Prince Alexander

of Battenberg.¹ The town is officially *en fête*, in expectation of Prince Dondukoff-Korsakoff,² who is on his way to meet Prince Alexander at Varna.

¹ Prince Alexander had, on April 29, 1879, been chosen by the Bulgarian Chamber to be the first Prince of Bulgaria. He held the office till August 1886, when he was kidnapped through Russian intrigues and, though liberated after a short confinement, abdicated soon after his return to Sofia.

² Russian Governor-General of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia during the period of the Russian occupation.

CHAPTER VII

BULGARIAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION, 1879

Nikopoli—Plevna—To Orkhanié—Disputes between Russian and Turkish topographers—Sofia—Oppression of Turks by Bulgarians—Disturbances at Djuma—Burning of Djuma—Divergence of views—Rilo Monastir—Review of the military situation—Return to the Frontier—Attack on Ardagh's party—Obstructive tactics—Surveying—Interview with chamois—Completion of the work—Situation in Turkey—Religion of the Turks—Tiflis and Sevastopol—Finland.

NIKOPOLI, *June 27*.—We left Rustchuk by Danubian steamer, reaching Nikopoli the same evening and were quartered in the house of a Spanish Jew, who emigrated during the Inquisition; a charming house—a lovely hostess, a bride of a few months, a real Spanish beauty, with pretty natural manners; quite the most attractive person we have seen.

Nikopoli is famous for the defeat of the Christians by the Turks about 1440. John Hunyadi commanded the Hungarians, and the victory virtually gave Bulgaria to the Turks. The locality, however, is disputed, and Kanitz, if I recollect right, places the site of the battle near Tirnova. On the western side of the valley is the ancient fortress, with a bastioned enceinte *en règle*, having masonry scarps and counterscarps. These fossil works, however, had nothing to do with the defence of

1877 further than that the guns mounted in them came into action against the Russians at distances of from one and a half to four kilomètres. The main defences of the Turks, who are always alive to the defects of obsolete works, were from two to as much as eight kilomètres from the town on the southern side. It appears that the Russians had already given the orders to retire, at the very moment of victory. On such chances do great events depend.

June 28.—From Nikopoli to Plevna. All the intervening country has a strong resemblance to the towns between Brighton and Eastbourne; the valleys, perhaps, not quite so strongly marked. At Plevna the baron and I are quartered in the house in which Osman Pasha had lived and in which subsequently the Emperor Alexander stayed during his visits. In the chamber in which I am now writing the emperor returned his sword to Osman Pasha, complimenting him on his valiant defence.

We occupied the day in riding round the northern defences of Plevna. On the south the Tutchnitza Valley, which joins the Grivitza Valley at Plevna, is narrow, with precipitous rocky escarpments, for the most part inaccessible, and forming a practical barrier to movements from either side. The investment between the Vid River and the Tutchnitza Valley was therefore independent of the other operations, and it was here that Skobeleff distinguished himself by his rash and daring attack. After his unsuccessful attempts on the Krishina position, he formed the idea of taking the redoubts nearest to Plevna itself. That he actually penetrated within the Turkish lines and remained there for a day, is a remarkable feat in itself. Had he been well supported, there might have been an end of the siege, for Plevna lay literally at his feet, at less than a thousand yards. It is said, and it

seems very likely, that jealousy was the reason of his not being supported. However, he found his position untenable, being surrounded by fire, and he was obliged to retire, leaving two field-guns in the hands of the Turks, the horses and gunners having been killed.

During these attacks of Skobeleff's the artillery were not unharnessed for three days, the horses being fed and watered in turn as they were replaced by a small reserve.

Colonel Leslie, who furnished us with an escort at Samakov, is here commanding the Kieff Regiment of Hussars. He is on the march to Sofia and has accompanied us in our visit to the works surrounding Plevna. He was a distant spectator during the siege.

July 1.—We made a long march of seventy-two miles to Orkhanié, which was reached at half-past three next morning, giving an average pace of three and a half miles an hour, over good roads. We had four horses to our carriage and changed twice on the way, but breakdowns are an almost regular occurrence in Turkey. The following day we did forty miles from Orkhanié to Sofia. It was fearfully hot and oppressive.

It was at the mouth of the Plevna Valley that Osman surrendered after his ineffectual attempt to retire on Orkhanié.

We entered the Balkans at Pretreven and, camping at Orsikovo, dined by moonlight on what we had been able to bring with us, while the gendarmes hunted for horses in the village. At the foot of the Orkhanié Pass, on the Sofia side, is the village of Tashkessen, which gives its name to the battle¹ by which Baker Pasha covered the retreat

¹ Baker Pasha gives a most interesting account of this action in "The War in Bulgaria," vol. ii. pp. 156-7. He felt bitterly the bad faith by which his little force was being sacrificed to the retreating Turkish army, the reinforcements promised him having

of the Turks, after the Russians had crossed the Balkans. Baker's position was on a range of hills, two to five hundred feet above the plain, which led by a valley round his left flank. The Russians attempted a turning movement, but it was not well carried out and, considering his small force, Baker Pasha had much the best of it.

SOFIA, *July 3*.—It appears that the map of the western frontier has not yet been completed by the Russian topographers who, it is stated by Colonel Bogoliubow, have been prevented from working by the Turks, though within the line of frontier by a few kilomètres. The Turks say that the topographers were at work thirty kilomètres *beyond* the frontier and were, in fact, profiting by the occasion to reconnoitre ground to which

been withheld. The Russians were in overwhelming numbers, and his small band of brave men had fought all day without yielding an inch. I give the last scene of this battle in Baker Pasha's own words :

“Slowly the minutes passed away, but the long day was drawing to its close.

“The shades of evening were falling fast around us, but our trials were not yet destined to be over. Night was so near that the flash of every rifle could be distinctly seen. Then the Russians drew themselves together for a last and desperate effort. Bringing up fresh troops, they came tramping on over the blood-stained snow, determined now to storm the hotly contested hill. Despite the withering fire from the rocks, they still pushed up and nearly reached the crest. But, with a shout to Allah, the mountaineers of Bosnia sprang to their feet. Dashing forward with the bayonet, they closed in deadly conflict with the stalwart giants of the Russian guard and drove them headlong down the height.

“In a few minutes the fire all along the line died away. The tired Turkish soldiers knew that the day was won. Pale, exhausted with the long-continued fight, they climbed upon the rocks, their faces fierce with the light of battle ; bloodstained and wounded as many of them were, they waved their weapons in the air, and hurled out defiance at the retreating foe. And many a dying man raised himself up with an expiring effort and spent his last breath in that loud shout of victory.”

they had no right of access. It also appears that Bulgarian troops are in occupation of Djuma, which lies clearly several miles south of the new frontier. At the close of the campaign Djuma was occupied by the Russians and formed one of the points of support of the abortive Macedonian insurrection last year. I myself, among others, spoke at Samakov to the general under whose command the troops were, and they were ultimately withdrawn, but this was a mere matter of form, as they were replaced by Bulgarians and the violation of the treaty continued.

The real motive for occupying Djuma is obvious from a consideration of the map. A number of tracks or roads diverge from thence into upper Macedonia and the place is exceptionally well situated as a *point d'appui* for a Bulgarian insurrection in Macedonia.

While discussing in a friendly way the abortive insurrection of last year in Macedonia, I was asked how it was that the province was overrun with brigands and I replied: "If you wish to know you must ask our friend Bogoliubow." He made no pretence of denying that it formed part of the general Russian programme and defended the policy. Others quoted Italy, Hungary and Poland as cases where the preparations for revolution and insurrection were morally justifiable. That such preparations are and have been made among the Bulgarians of Macedonia and Roumelia since Lord Salisbury's circular is not doubted.

It is as clear as noonday that the Bulgarians oppress the Turks infinitely more than ever the Turks did the Bulgarians. Witness the deliberately ruined mosques, demolished houses and desecrated graveyards. But as against all this it must be admitted that under the Russian administration great advances have been made. The streets in the towns have been macadamised,

lighted and in many cases widened. Shops and restaurants have sprung up, the police is more efficient, the people have been drilled. Among the Turks there is a class which may be called gentlemen—a sort of feudal aristocracy, whose destiny is to fight, to rule, or to enjoy repose. Among the Bulgarians this class does not exist. Every one is engaged in commerce, trade, or agriculture, mainly the last. There is no proprietor class, none who live on inherited means. The women, even when young, are villainously ugly. The prettiest women I have seen were Spanish Jews, the next Turks, then Greeks and the ugliest, Bulgarians.

A difficulty has arisen respecting the line of frontier in this neighbourhood. By the Treaty of Berlin “the ancient frontier” is to be maintained and according to the inhabitants, both Turk and Bulgarian, its actual position differs very widely from that shown on the Austrian map. The discrepancy affords another instance of the inaccuracy of a map which, though accepted as a working basis at Berlin, has proved over and over again to be quite unreliable. A new map, which of course is what is wanted, is now being constructed and would have been finished long ago but for the delay in furnishing the topographers with the safe-conducts necessitated by the disturbed condition of the country. I understand it will be completed in a month or six weeks. Meanwhile Djuma is being occupied by the Bulgarians in flagrant defiance of the Treaty of Berlin and, although I am the only member of the Commission who was present at the Congress and who therefore knows what was intended, my remonstrances receive no support.

DJUMA, *July* 12.—Tahir Pasha received this morning a letter from Suleiman Hakki Pasha, commanding a brigade of Turkish troops three-

quarters of a mile from Djuma, stating that the Mohammedan houses at Djuma are being burnt, and begging the Commission to go there as soon as possible. Bogoliubow also received information that the Bashi-Bazooks are burning houses. Accordingly we leave at once for Djuma, and I have expressed my wish to remain until the evacuation by the Bulgarian troops is completed. In this, however, I received no support. Affairs sometimes march more speedily than those who pull the wires imagine. Again, when we halted for *déjeuner* I used the strongest terms of denunciation as to the course that was being pursued and again begged Bogoliubow to telegraph for permission to withdraw the troops from Djuma, telling him that he would be mainly responsible for the consequences. No one but the mild and passive pasha supported me and Baron de Ripp privately asked me to desist, but I refused. We arrived at Djuma at four o'clock.

A row of Russian and Bulgarian officers were drawn up to receive us and abstained from any symptom of politeness. The Commandant, Captain Baron de Sass, still wearing the uniform of the Russian regiment of Hussars to which he belongs, was very civil and frank. He informed us that during the past week there had been incendiary fires every night, sometimes of Turkish, sometimes of Bulgarian houses—that he had only a hundred men and found them unreliable, so that he could do nothing.

As we entered, the still smoking ruins of houses burnt during the last few days encumbered the streets and we recollected a threat reported to us at Sofia, that the Bulgarians, before evacuating Djuma, would burn the town. Captain Marmier and I visited nine centres of conflagration in the town and afterwards accompanied the rest of the Commission, who wished to establish the fact

of some murders which had been committed near by.

The sun set as we left and it was two hours before we reached the wild and desolate ravine where the remains of pools of blood on the path indicated the scene of the murders. Below in the bushes were the bodies of two men, a woman and a child, as far as I could identify them, for the smell was intolerable and the bodies had already been for the most part devoured by dogs, which retired barking, and by birds of prey, which soared above. It was evident from the nature of the wounds and from the quantity of blood that the murders had been committed by *armes blanches*. The murderers are unknown, but the Bulgarian gendarmes think they were Turks from the village of Osenovo. No lesson was to be learned by this harrowing spectacle but that the presence of Bulgarian troops in the neighbourhood had led to reprisals. The corpses were left there ; it seemed no one's business either to bury the remains or to inquire into the circumstances of the crime.

It was half-past eight and quite dark when we re-entered Djuma. As we approached flames and smoke indicated that another fire had broken out. I went to the spot and found that a large group of houses were in full conflagration. The fire was within a quarter of a mile of the Konak, or palace of the Governor, where we were lodged and, as wooden houses burn quickly, we ordered the horses to be saddled and the baggage to be loaded, while we took a hurried meal. Meanwhile the whole of the inhabitants, of whom but few remained, had vanished and it was only after our return that the troops, on the order of Baron de Sass, began to aid in preventing the spread of the fire, which so rapidly became general that there can be no doubt but that it had its origin, not at one, but at many points at once, which, as Marmier

and I had previously observed, had already been prepared. The Bulgarian troops rendered a half-hearted assistance. There were no axes or implements of any kind and all the vessels in which water could be carried had been made away with. When we reappeared after our hurried meal the fire had spread. Fifty houses were in flames and the efforts of the Bulgarian troops, whether from ignorance or intention, had no effect. After a short inspection of the fire we concluded that, unless certain houses were demolished, the fire would spread to the Konak or beyond it and we at once personally began the necessary steps, aided heartily by the Turkish soldiers and in a dilatory manner by the Bulgarians, who soon altogether withdrew, leaving us alone in the burning town.

The conflagration spread on all sides. Houses crumbled to the ground, sending showers of sparks around and threatening further extension. We worked hard at forming a gap to stay the progress of the flames. In this Baron de Sass worked hard himself and I was nearly obliterated by a falling roof.

At one in the morning the devouring element was still in the ascendant. Baron de Ripp made another appeal to Colonel Bogoliubow, who at last consented to order the Bulgarians to withdraw and to ask Suleiman to advance. A messenger was at once sent off from Tahir to Suleiman. All but the Russian officers had now left. Our labours proved so far successful that the progress of the fire was checked by destroying some of the houses on its path, the Konak and some of the finer buldings in the town being saved. Dawn lightened on the burning ruins of about two hundred houses and now and again another was added to the number.

At five o'clock the band of the Turkish troops passed the Konak and, having exchanged a few

words with Suleiman Pasha, we left for Kotchar-novo, where I finally lay down to sleep in a wretched den at half-past eight.

Reviewing this affair, there can be no doubt that the burning of Djuma was deliberately plotted by the Bulgarians, was approved by the central authority, was aided by the Bulgarian inhabitants, allowed to proceed by the Bulgarian troops, and was more or less connived at by the Russians. It is equally certain that Colonel Bogoliubow altogether disregarded his duty as a member of the European Commission by allowing matters to proceed to such extremities when he had been repeatedly requested by the Commission to take steps to evacuate the town, and by refusing to call in aid when the fire had attained considerable dimensions.

This painful episode in the labours of the Commission will long be remembered as a blot on the conduct of the Bulgarians, and as a disgrace to the new Principality.

It was at Kotcharnovo that there occurred a divergence of views respecting the line of frontier between Butchinova and Mount Gitka, which brought the work of the Commission to an abrupt conclusion ; for, since nothing but an accurate map could settle the point at issue and the majority of the Commission were averse from waiting on the spot for its completion, the only course left was to let the matter stand over ; so, after taking a look at the mountains and the

beautiful and interesting Monastery of Rilo, where they were received with great hospitality by the monks, they set out on their return journey.

RILO MONASTIR, *July 14*.—The pasha remained at Kotcharnovo to meet Suleiman Pasha on his formal entry into Barakli, which took place with a little pomp and flourish.

Bogoliubow, de Ripp, Pallavicino and I left for Rilo Monastir on horseback and breakfasted at Rilo-Selo, where the gorge commences. It took us six hours to reach the Monastery which is charmingly situated. Tree-clad slopes rise steeply on either side to an indefinite height, as Milton wrote :

High above their heads
The verdurous walls of Paradise upspring.

Beyond, the Rilo Dagħ rises in castellated cliffs, with patches of snow in the hollows. The monastery itself is as much a fortress in appearance as a religious retreat. The Holy Fathers, headed by their Superior, received us at the gate and instead of a *fanfaron* of trumpets all the convent bells were set ringing. The exterior, as I have said, has the appearance of a mediæval fortress. Inside there is a complete contrast. The shape of the surrounding blocks of buildings is somewhat irregular, but this tends to make the *ensemble* more picturesque. Three or four tiers of arcades on semi-circular arches, springing from pillars which almost surround the courtyard. The arches are coloured to imitate the black-and-white alternations which remind one of Florence and Giotto, and sometimes in red as well, to imitate the brickwork of the Byzantine period. The galleries are floored and ceiled with wood and are reached by great flights of wooden stairs. In the centre is

the church, a quasi-Byzantine edifice, or, as the Holy Fathers call it, Bulgarian. It reminds one a little of St. Mark's at Venice, with lead- or zinc-covered little domes protruding everywhere. Around is an arcade with frescoed walls representing subjects intended to be sacred, but more grotesquely imaginative and realistic than the wildest of the early Rhenish pictures. St. John of Rilo, founder of the monastery about a thousand years ago, is the principal figure, but the most numerous are devils, of whom there appear to be two species, a black and a red, both with horns, tails and cloven hoofs and consequently, according to the most eminent authorities, ruminants. On one wall a complete inferno is represented, the lake of fire being fed by a molten torrent into which active and malevolent-looking devils are dragging groups of solemn, turbaned Mussulmans, while certain grave and angelic persons are engaged in transfixing other devils with long toasting-forks.

The interior is resplendent with gilding and the reredos is decorated with pictures of saints very well executed, but always on a golden ground. We were led at once into the chapel, where a short service, very well intoned, was held and then we were shown our chambers, in which everything was Turkish, from the divans to the carpets, and all of the richest description, as handwork goes. We had a few visits to pay, amongst others to a monk of ninety years, the author of a history of Bulgaria and of a dictionary of the Bulgarian language. This venerable person seemed to be about sixty and smoked his cigarette while drinking his glass of mastic with the steadiness of a mere youth. He sat cross-legged on his divan like a Turk. The Reverend Fathers then served us with a capital dinner. They always eat *maigre* themselves, and never touch meat but when on journeys away from the monastery. The Rilo

furnishes good trout, but if the supply runs short they procure fish from the Danube. They certainly thrive on their fare, and if they don't eat good things they know how to cook them. A bed was prepared for me on the floor and I am bound to say that not a flea or creature of any sort disturbed my rest. We had brought our beds with us, but they were superfluous.

July 15.—After tea *à la Russe*, the Superior took us over the library, which, in point of books, is not too well furnished, but it contains a veritable treasure in the shape of vestments and banners, the most magnificent of which were presents from Russia. The most interesting relic was in the charge of the Superior himself—a parchment charter of John Sshishman, the last king of Bulgaria, beautifully preserved. There was, further, an inscription on a tower which forms the only relic of a former church destroyed by fire, recording how a Servian *voivode*, or noble, became a monk and erected the church to the glory of God and the memory of St. John of Rilo. There was also a firman of Mohammed the Second, confirming all privileges of the monastery, which seems always to have been on good terms with the Turks. It was twice plundered by the Arnaouts in the seventeenth century, but this seems to have been only an act of brigandage.

Within the monastery there are over three hundred chambers, but the number of monks is now only twenty-seven. They are probably rich, as the whole valley belongs to them and they are open to offerings, though not to payment. The Superior is evidently a man of cultivation, but, with few exceptions, the others seemed dull, though rather above the average of Catholic monks.

On the whole Rilo Monastir is as well worth seeing as anything in Turkey, not excepting San Sofia.

Major Ardagh and his party left Rilo on July 15, and reached Samakov on the 17th, where they rested for a day, proceeding viâ Banja to Sarembey, where they slept in the railway carriages on the 19th. Reviewing the situation, Major Ardagh writes :

The long and narrow defile of Kiss-Derbend between Banja and Bellova is traversed by the Maritza in a deep and rocky channel, crossed many times by the road. It is one of the rare instances where the destruction of a few petty bridges would block the road, perhaps for a couple of days. The slopes of the gorge are steep and wooded and the river winds from one side to the other, completely intercepting the passage along the valley at each bend.

The adjacent road by Ichtiman also passes through a very rough defile. For an advance from Sofia towards Tatar-Bazardjik one or both of these roads must be used. To defend them on the Turkish side, the best position seems to be along the valley which leads from Kapudjik southwards, the key of the position being a high knoll with trees on the summit near Kapudjik Bair on the Austrian map.

If Turkey ever erects fortifications on this frontier, it should be here.

The question of the defence of the frontiers in general in accordance with the treaty is a difficult one, and ought to be discussed with the Commission now laying out the boundary by men who have been on the ground and who are all staff officers.

By Article 15 "the Sultan shall have the right of providing for the defence of the frontiers of the Province (*i.e.* Eastern Roumelia) by land and sea, by erecting fortifications on these frontiers and maintaining garrisons in them."

Now it would be preposterous to suppose, as some appear to do, that the defence of the frontiers is to be effected by forts or posts on the very verge of the territory and there alone. In most cases such posts would be on the summits of mountains covered with snow and inaccessible during a considerable portion of the year. These posts may be a part of the system of defence, but only the advanced part; they must be fed and supported from garrisons in the plain at the foot of the mountains, *i.e.* in or near the very towns and villages at which the Boundary Commission halted to visit the passes; not in the houses of the inhabitants, which would be contrary to the treaty, but in forts, camps, or cantonments, apart. A very favourable opportunity exists for the thin end of the wedge at Shipka, which has not now more than half a dozen houses standing. Unless the initiative is taken soon, it cannot be taken at all. A single precedent would govern subsequent cases. The pass of Shipka, and perhaps half a dozen others, will require posts or forts at the summit. Posts there should be in any case for police or Customs service. The real first line of defence of Turkey will now hinge on large entrenched camps at Burgas and at Adrianople with small ones at Rodosto and Enos perhaps—not, however to be surrendered as Adrianople was in the last war, or to be held to destruction as was Plevna.

The more I think of the future of Turkey, the less chance of success I see in a future war, unless the troops (which are excellent) are commanded by Europeans. The only Europeans likely to succeed are Englishmen.

To return, however, to the points to fortify, if they ever are fortified. There are, north of Petrichevo, Rahmanli-Derben, the débouché of the Giup-su; south of Karlovo: the pass of

Kalofer, the pass north of Esski Zara ; in connection with Shipka and collateral passes : Hainkeui, Ferditza ; with the gorge at Binkos : Sliven-Khotel, Verbitza and Dobrol. In the interior, Tatar-Bazardjik and Philippopoli-Tirnova junction are very important, but, according to the treaty, nothing can be done to the last two in peace.

Kapudjik, on the Ichtiman road, I have already mentioned. An entrenched camp at Burgas will provide for the Eastern Balkans, but it would be better to make a descent on Varna and capture it.

The western frontier of Turkey is tolerably well secured by the position of Austria, as long as Austria is friendly. The Austrians at Novi Bazar and Mitrovitza will hold in check both Serbs and Bulgars at Prepolatch, Vranja and Kustendil. Djuma is certainly very open and perhaps the district may have to be abandoned, but the position between it and Barakli is by no means bad, though the lateral communications are deficient and the valleys of the Mesta and Struma are consequently difficult to defend. Insurrection only, not war, is to be feared on this side.

July 20 brought Major Ardagh to Adrianople, the 21st to Constantinople and on the 22nd he joined General Hamley at Buyuk-déré, there being no room in the Therapia hotels.

BUYUK-DÉRÉ, *July 24*.—All our field-work is now complete and there appears nothing left to do but to wind up.

SALONIKA, *July 30*.—The mutability of human affairs has entirely altered the destinies of many since I last wrote. The survey of the frontier between Kustendil and Egri Palanka which had been allotted to the Russian topographers, not

being ready and only vaguely promised in two months, it became a question whether there was no quicker method of arriving at the result. In the end a party of officers was found, by fortuitous circumstances, to be available. Captain Everett arrived at Therapia on his way to Erzerum as Vice-Consul, Lieutenant de Wolski, R.E., returned with Major Gordon from the Roumelian boundary, Captain Jones, R.A., was already with General Hamley, and I was open to an engagement. At the meeting of the Commission on the 26th, General Hamley proposed to place our services at the disposal of the Commission in order to complete the survey as expeditiously as possible. Colonel Bogoliubow was much piqued at what he called the distrust of the Commission in his promises—a distrust completely justified by previous experiences, for the district in question was to have been finished, first by April, then by June, and now at the end of July a further delay of two months is asked for. I calculate we shall be able to finish all that is requisite in one fortnight on the ground.

The Commission accepted the offer and gave me instructions. General Hamley immediately asked our ambassador for one of H.M.'s ships to take us to Salonika and on the 28th the *Bittern*, one of the *stationnaires*, was under weigh.

The circumstances of this third expedition were on most days exactly similar to the two previous ones. The usual difficulties as to transport and provisions were encountered and some additional ones, owing to the cook being laid up with fever, so that the party had to content itself with a square meal twice a week at the outside. They suffered from the same climatic changes from the

valleys to mountains of six or seven thousand feet, where snow lay deep and where heavy thunderstorms interfered seriously both with the work and with the comfort of those who were either sketching or observing. As time pressed, Major Ardagh was obliged to hurry his party a good deal, until he felt that they must hate him and there was little time for sleep or necessary writing. The Bulgarians were particularly aggressive and interfered as much as they dared with the surveying party, which began operations on August 4, on the summit of the Pass of Bagrdan, or "that which evokes a cry from a camel," alluding to its steepness. The work was shared between the four officers; they were up at five, got to bed by eleven or twelve and were out all day.

On the 7th some Bulgarians shot at their party and the Turkish orderly, an old white-haired sergeant-major, rode so as to interpose his body between Major Ardagh and the direction from which the bullets were coming.¹ Other members of the party were also molested by the Bulgarians.

KALINI KARMEN, 6,800 *feet above sea-level*, August 9.—To-day I expected to have finished the survey of the frontier. De Wolski went down the watershed to observe with the theodolite. I was sketching at the same spot, a little beyond the hamlet of Sasa, when we observed a number of armed pea-

¹ When Major Ardagh afterwards charged one of the Russian officers with being cognisant of the attempts to shoot him and his party, this officer in reply only laughed; he kissed him on both cheeks, but did not deny the accusation.

sants ascending a ridge leading up to us. As they had all the appearance of brigands and as this neighbourhood is an active centre of the Revolutionary Slav Committee, we thought it prudent to retire towards the camp ; at the same time I sent back an orderly to Sherafeddine who on his part sent back for reinforcements.

About thirty men, commanded by a non-descript under-officer, advanced towards the camp and, on being interrogated, said that they were merely going up to relieve the posts on the mountains, which was evidently false, as there is but one man posted on the top. However, we kept four of these armed ragamuffins and sent on two Turkish soldiers with the rest.

Next morning, on attempting to resume our work, we found the ridge occupied by Bashi-Bazooks, who refused to allow us to pass, saying they had orders not to do so. We sent for our interpreter and exhibited all our papers and firmans—enough to paper a room—but with no effect. It was extremely disappointing, as I had calculated to finish the survey yesterday and we are in fact but two miles from our goal. In the afternoon the truth leaked out. The Bulgarian under-officer, becoming confidential after a good drink, admitted to the Turkish sergeant that the demonstration was by order of the Russian topographer, who is actually in the village of Sasa below us. This evening more armed men appeared, but all measures have been taken to call up reinforcements, if necessary. We have outposts and our escort is placed all ready for resistance. We have nine infantry, eight cavalry and six officers, including the Turks. Ten more men are on the top of the mountain, with orders to send one for reinforcements, if they hear firing, and to hurry up. As there seems no object in continuing this state of armed neutrality, I have sent for baggage horses

to transport our camp back to within the Turkish lines, although we are literally encamped on Turkish territory; I have also telegraphed to General Hamley to inform him of the condition of affairs and to request that steps be taken to prevent the Bulgarians from annoying us.

August 11.—On the morning of August 11 the camp was struck and we marched over the mountains to the Dévé Bagrdan-Karaula, with Captain Sherafeddine's party.

In order to complete our work, I arranged that Jones and de Wolski should move down on the next parallel range to the east, Everett on the west, and I in the valley to the west, all observing on points on the ridge, which was still occupied by the Bulgarians. Our plan succeeded admirably and we satisfactorily established points, to connect with the existing map, of the ground in front of us. I took down Cullen, our Intendant, to forage for poultry and eatables with a Bulgarian, whom we induced by a handsome *douceur* to guide us. We got one little chicken, which was quite enough to shelter us under its wings. We descended in the valley of Sasa from 6,200 to 2,500 feet, then mounted again on the other side to 7,200 feet and at sunset I rejoined the others just as they were organising a reconnaissance in force to look for me. We reached our camp at half-past ten, not before we were again stopped by the Bulgarian outposts. By our flank movements I completely outwitted the obstructive tactics of the enemy and, while they remained in position on the ridge, we closed round in rear of them and attained our object. It was a capital day's work and the survey is finished.

August 13.—The Russian topographer to-day offered to sell us his survey. I finished off our work in a manner which will, I hope, be satisfactory to the Commission. A belt about twenty-two

miles long and about six miles wide, or 130 square miles, of very rough mountain country, has been accurately surveyed and well sketched, with contours at every hundred feet, on a scale of 1 to 42,000 in eight days.

Having received orders from General Hamley to finish the survey on the Rhodope, Major Ardagh and his party proceeded to Samakov, which he made his headquarters for supplies and where he had to pitch his camp at from 6,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea, taking observations at from 9,000 to 10,000 feet. A violent gale raged for several days and made all observation impossible at such a height ; eventually it ceased, but the cold while it lasted was very severe. They all wore Bulgarian sheepskins, but could not keep warm and their tents were blown away on more than one occasion.

The character of the Rhodope Range, he continues, is peculiar between the Isker and Yokurul. The summit ridges are extremely sharp and sometimes precipitous on both sides. Vast craters, a thousand feet or more in depth, are scooped out of the mountain and contain small deep lakes, with snow-drifts as feeders. The rock throughout is granite, broken into fragments as though by blasting, and often forming long slopes, with the appearance of having been recently piled up artificially.

While I was observing on the summit on the highest of these rocky peaks, on a little spot barely affording space to walk round the legs of the theodolite, a chamois suddenly leaped up over the edge of the precipice and stood close beside me. We were both surprised and my first impulse was

to protect my instrument, upon which I placed one hand, giving the graceful beast a slap with the other, whereupon he jumped down a precipice on the other side of the ridge, landed unhurt some twenty feet below and scampered down a slope of rocky débris. Hardly had he gone when another repeated the movement and then a whole herd followed the leaders, all passing within touch of me. I forgot I had a revolver until they had passed and were out of range.

We have now finished our surveys and start for Rilo Monastir to-morrow.

RILO MONASTIR, *August 29*.—At the monastery we were all lodged—masters, servants, grooms, orderlies, *mekardjis* (pack-drivers) and horses, and I commenced the assemblage of the surveys into a general map.

A band of brigands are infesting this country, and it is fortunate they have not attacked us. They come down now and again from the mountains into the villages near to buy provisions.

This morning a messenger arrived from General Hamley, bearing a telegram which tells me that the final point to which we are to work is exactly south of Bastra, in the valley of the Rilsko; we have therefore to go back into the mountains again to complete a section of a few kilomètres. We had looked forward to a little rest and the change of plan was most inconvenient, as we had presented most of our condiments and preserved provisions to the Holy Fathers.

THERAPIA, *September 13*.—Arrived here to find the Commission sitting. Of forty-six days' absence, three were lost from various causes, twenty were devoted to travelling, and twenty-three to surveying. Sixty-one miles of frontier, covering 218 square miles of country, were surveyed: 107 by me, 69 by Jones, 29 by Everett, and 13 by de Wolski, who did all the triangulation—a very

important part of the work. Jones had lost time in preparing to comply with General Hamley's orders—afterwards cancelled—to proceed to Constantinople. Everett was recalled by telegraph on August 13, his services being urgently required in Kurdistan. I spent the whole of August 12 with him in getting together the sketches of the work completed up to that date and in making a fair plan for the Commission, which he took down to Constantinople. Our maximum rate was therefore five square miles a day, which, considering the enormous features of the country, is very rapid. At Buyuk-Tchekmedjé, three years ago, I did 150 miles in fifteen days, but the country was flat in comparison to the Rhodope. It is, moreover, far more tedious to survey a long narrow belt than a compact area.

The work of the Boundary Commission is now almost over; the *acte diplomatique* describing the frontier is in print and by the 24th it is expected to be fully agreed to and signed. I have obtained six weeks' leave to visit Tiflis, Sebastopol, and Russia.

On September 28, 1879, Major Ardagh embarked on a Russian coasting steamer and visited Trebizond, Batoum and Poti, whence he went by rail to Tiflis. He describes this place as a perfectly open town, lying in the bottom of a valley on both banks of the river Kur.

RUSSIAN STEAM NAVIGATION'S STEAMER "AZOF," IN THE BLACK SEA

The Ottoman Empire is no longer independent. It exists on sufferance. The ruling class in Turkey is at present in a worse state than at any former period. Obstinate incapacity and deep-

rooted corruption characterise the Government. The very virtues of the Mohammedan peasants render them the most facile dupes of the scoundrels who misgovern them. Improvement at this moment is almost impossible. Nothing can be done without money, and what little can be procured by hypothecating revenue to the Galata bankers at the most usurious rates of interest is squandered by the Palace or misappropriated by the ministers in power. Osman, the Seraskier, has immense investments in foreign stocks. The army under him has received no pay for over thirty months. Most of the Government departments present the same picture. The miserable minor officials are compelled by sheer want to be dishonest. The people, it is true, are not oppressed, but they are neglected. They are lightly taxed and let alone, excepting military service, which falls on none but Mohammedans.

Wherever I have been, the same question is mournfully asked—How can we get under English rule?—and yet these people, despairing of their country, or rather of its rulers, are replete with virtues. They are the best soldiers in the world—I speak of the rank and file and the subordinate officers. Even the Russians admit that. I once asked a Russian officer if, when it was a question of life and death, there was any one he would rather rely on than a Turkish soldier. Although a confirmed depreciator of the Turks, he admitted that there was none.

How is it that these admirable qualities are confined to the ranks, *i.e.* to the peasantry? The principal reasons seem to be that the peasants are better bred, have a finer physique and lead more healthy lives than the ruling classes, and to them the evil side of polygamy is unknown. It is hardly necessary to point out that, as the male and female population of Turkey are about

equal, as in most other countries, a plurality of wives is impossible for the great bulk of the population. Practically polygamy is confined to the very rich and among the upper classes, even, it is quite the exception to find more than one wife. The peasants, too, are strict observers of the sumptuary laws of the Koran. They can hardly ever be induced to touch wine or spirits, or indeed any strange viands, whereas the upper classes are very lax in their observances and have few scruples. Then again, for the people Islam is a living faith—a creed in which they thoroughly believe, and a capital creed it is. Bigotry of course exists, as it does in all religions, but it is more a remnant of national antagonism and of the contempt of a race of conquerors for their vanquished enemies than a religious feeling. As an example I may instance that the antipathy existing between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland is far stronger than that between Mohammedans and Christians in Turkey. It is the Bulgarians and the Greeks whom the Turks sometimes call dogs and infidels—and they are not far wrong. They have no strong dislike to the Russians on account of their religion, and to the English they have none at all. I have seen numbers of mosques burnt, but not one church.

The moral precepts of the Koran are exceedingly good. Every one is his own expounder, so the simpler the person the purer the practice. Your ordinary soldier, sailor, or peasant says his prayers honestly in the sight of all men wherever he may be; turns towards Mecca, kneels, prostrates himself without the least pretence or *mauvaise honte*, while your pasha probably never says any prayers at all, or if he does, it is to keep up appearances.

Hereditary qualities count for much. The

Mohammedan peasant is born a soldier. All his ancestors have carried arms; many have died in battle. He regards the inevitable military service as his natural calling and death in war as a fate rather to be sought than to be avoided, inasmuch as the highest rewards of Paradise are thereby assured. We may mock the belief, but it is a noble one and without it few soldiers would be worth their salt. In all religions the recording angel has a special eraser for those who nobly die. While I despise the ruling class, I must say that all Turks, as a rule, are brave. Even the fat old pasha, corrupt and sensual, will not dream of holding back from the thick of the fight. Abdul Kerim and Osman of Plevna are of this type. But the quality of courage is by no means the only adornment of the character of the humble Turk. He is faithful, generous and hospitable. It is the fashion to say that the Turks are lazy. I certainly have not found them so and I have frequently observed how much better tilled were the Turkish fields than the Bulgarian; that the Turkish houses are infinitely cleaner, I need not say.

I certainly have great commiseration for the unhappy lot which has fallen on these well-deserving people through the corruption of their rulers, the ambition of the Russian bureaucracy, and the jealousies of the other Powers.

As seen on the map, the neck between the Black Sea and the Caspian, traversed by the great Caucasus Range, which has only one road across it, seems to present an easy opportunity to a maritime Power like Turkey for cutting off the communications of a Russian army in Armenia. Nothing more is necessary (on the map) than to land at Poti or Soukoum and march on the Dariel Pass; *voilà tout*! But when the country is more closely examined, the project appears first difficult,

then almost impossible. Behind Poti in the direction of Tiflis are many miles of impenetrable marshy woodland, backed by the long defile between Rion and Kutais. Farther north the mountains rise directly from the shore. No part of it is favourable for the operation owing to the almost complete absence of roads. The slight effect of Omar Pasha's invasion of Mingrelia, and the inefficacy of the diversion made in 1877 on the Caucasian coast, are thus easily comprehensible. As years pass on the Turkish fleet will become weaker and that of Russia stronger, while the inhabitants of the Caucasus will grow into more thorough subjection.

From Tiflis Major Ardagh travelled to Kertch and reached Sevastopol on October 11. "Most of my expeditions here," he continues, "have been made in company with Captain Balk, a very good fellow, commanding a 'Popoffka,' and with my friend Admiral Popoff, who was in charge of the Naval Artillery during the siege. He took great interest in fighting his battles over again, riding round the fortifications, or going round the harbour in his steam launch."

Major Ardagh gives a detailed description of Sevastopol, Balaclava and Alma, deeply deploring the condition of the English graves, as contrasted with the French and Russian, which, being all collected together in a small enclosure, were more easily kept in good order at a moderate cost.

After leaving Sevastopol Major Ardagh visited Odessa, Moscow and St. Petersburg, whence he

went to Stockholm, visiting also Helsingfors, the capital of Finland.

Sveaborg [the diary continues] is the fortress of Helsingfors. The site is a peculiar one: an irregular coast-line skirted by innumerable islands of granite, covered, when left to nature, with fir and birch of small growth, affords on the whole Finnish coast harbours everywhere. The defences of Sveaborg are situated on half a dozen islets of various sizes, which form between them two navigable entrances, both very narrow, and one adapted for blocking up in time of war. Both are commanded by numerous heavily armed batteries, mainly earthen, apparently in very good repair. I saw no turrets or iron defences. The harbour is admirably suited for torpedo launches.

Helsingfors is two miles from the west entrance, and three from the south one. A surprisingly fine town: two splendid cathedrals, solid, well-built, handsome houses of four and five stories, good hotel, capital restaurant, and two theatres.

Since 1819 Helsingfors has superseded Obo as the capital of Finland. I should put down its population at 50,000, and it seems on the increase.

On the conquest of Finland in 1809, Alexander I. guaranteed to the Finns their constitution and religion, and the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed under the Swedes. This promise places the Finns in a far better position than ordinary Russian subjects, particularly in respect to military service, for they claim exemption from the general liability to conscription.

Between Finns and Poles, Circassians and Tartars, Lapps and Turkomans, the population subject to His Imperial Majesty is not such a rich recruiting ground as is imagined.

The Finns, like many other foolish people, insisted too on maintaining their own language and currency. The language is so little known that it was necessary to give twenty years' shrift to the officials to learn it. Swedish is, and is likely to remain, the language of culture. Russian is very little spoken.

The Finns are not a handsome race—squat, ungainly men and ugly women. They possess, like most inhabitants of poor and inhospitable countries, strong feelings of patriotism and attachment to their institutions. The idea of an Ice-lander being homesick, as they all are, when absent from their barren island, is a paradox. The Finns somewhat resemble them.

Obo, the ancient capital, is a desolate-looking town, where great masses of granite peep up amongst the houses.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREEK FRONTIER AND THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF 1880

Berlin Conference—"The Lay of the Wooden Spoon"—Turco-Greek Frontier—Selection of a frontier—Signature of Convention—Travels in Greece—Death of Abdul Aziz—The new Sultan—Delimitation of Frontier—Relaxations of Major Ardagh.

ON February 2, 1878, two days after the signature of the Preliminaries of Peace between Russia and Turkey, Greece, which had little reason to anticipate favourable consideration of her aspirations in the negotiations, declared war against Turkey and proceeded to occupy the Thessalian provinces with a force of 15,000 men. The Porte thereupon prepared to send the Turkish fleet to the Piræus and, under this threat and in deference to a joint remonstrance from the Great Powers, who promised that the claims of Greece should be considered in the forthcoming Congress, the Greek Government withdrew their troops from Turkish territory.

In accordance with the pledge thus given, two Greek representatives were admitted to state the Greek case at the ninth sitting of the Congress of Berlin. The Congress, however, went no farther than to recommend to Turkey the cession of a

line of frontier which would have involved the acquisition by Greece of the greater part of Epirus and Thessaly and to reserve to themselves by Article XXIV of the Treaty of Berlin the right of offering their mediation if the two Parties failed to come to an agreement by direct negotiation.

Negotiations between the Turkish and Greek Commissioners were begun at Prevesa in February 1879 and subsequently resumed at Constantinople in the autumn of the same year without any satisfactory result. As direct agreement was evidently hopeless, the Great Powers decided on intervening, and a Conference was held at Berlin in June 1880, for the purpose of deciding on the line of frontier which should be pressed on the Turkish Government.

The decision arrived at was communicated to the Porte in July, but was rejected. The provinces in dispute were in the meanwhile overrun with brigands, the Greeks had been driven to exasperation by the long delay and hostilities seemed to become more and more imminent. Fresh Conferences were held at Constantinople and eventually, under pressure of the presence of a collective fleet of the Great Powers off the coast of Albania and of indications that Great Britain would resort to some definite coercive action, the Sultan gave way and in May 1881 accepted a modification of the award originally agreed upon at Berlin.

The effect of this modification was that Turkey retained the portion of Epirus to the

west of the river Arta, which includes Prevesa and Janina. The Convention embodying this settlement was signed on May 24, 1881,¹ and provided for the delimitation of the new frontier by an International Commission. The line so laid down, with the exception of some slight modifications made after the war of 1897, is that which divides Greece and Turkey to this day.

In the Conference above referred to, which was held at Berlin in June 1880, the Plenipotentiaries were assisted by technical delegates. Major Ardagh was one of the officers sent for this purpose, and was afterwards charged by Lord Odo Russell to convey the award of the Plenipotentiaries to the Foreign Office. Both Lord Odo and Lord Granville, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, expressed their high appreciation of the way in which Major Ardagh had done his work. Sir Lintorn Simmons was, as before, the chief Military Technical Delegate ; Captain Fleetwood Edwards (now Sir Fleetwood Edwards) and Captain Wood (now Major-General Sir Elliott Wood, R.E., K.C.B.) accompanied him. Sir Lintorn Simmons and Major Ardagh travelled viâ Paris, in order to effect an agreement with France on certain points, and successfully accomplished their mission.

¹ The date of the signature was the Queen's birthday, and the place the British Embassy. Mr. Goschen remarked to me, "If Lord Beaconsfield had been ambassador here to-day what a flowery telegram he would have sent!" (Note by General Swaine, C.B., at that time Military Attaché at Constantinople.)

"At Berlin," writes Sir Elliott Wood, "I observed with what evident pleasure Major Ardagh was welcomed by the various delegates whose acquaintance he had previously made at the Berlin Congress. An ode was composed in alternate verses by Sir Lintorn, Lady, Miss Simmons, and myself describing our adventures at Berlin, and Major Ardagh replied by "The Lay of the Wooden Spoon," which gave a very accurate, though serio-comic, version of what took place at the Conference. We all thought it clever and really valuable. It was called "The Lay of the Wooden Spoon" because, although he started before us, the Lay was the last to arrive. It consisted of twenty-two verses, one for each protocol ; and is printed as an appendix.

CONFERENCE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1881

London, May 6.—On May 6 Lord Tenterden (Permanent Under-Secretary of State) sent a note to me at Adair House, asking me to go to the Foreign Office at once and on my arrival informed me that Lord Granville had approved of my being sent to Constantinople in reference to the Conference, to be at the disposition of the ambassador there until the Convention was signed and subsequently to be employed on the delimitation of the Greek frontier.

I left Victoria on the 10th and arrived at Vienna at six o'clock in the morning of the 12th. I called on Sir Henry Elliot,¹ Baron de Ripp, and Baron Kallai, and left by the 3.30 train for

¹ Sir Henry Elliot had been transferred from Constantinople to Vienna.

Bucharest. At the station all the staff of the Embassy was assembled to bid farewell to the Prince of Wales, who was going to Pesth for a few days. I had a conversation with the Prince and went on to Bucharest; saw Mr. White, our minister there,¹ and pursued my way to Rustchuk.

Bucharest was engrossed in preparations for the fêtes which are to celebrate the assumption of the royal title. The Roumanians seem to have very little feeling in the matter, the masses being rather apprehensive lest a king should be a more expensive luxury than a prince and instituting comparisons with the increase of taxation which followed the reconstitution of Hungary into a kingdom. In that respect they have little to fear, as Roumanian finances are in a flourishing condition.

We disembarked at Pera on Sunday and I took the dispatches to the Embassy, saw Swaine, the Military Attaché, and established myself at the Hôtel Royal for about the tenth time.

As already stated, the question of the delimitation of the Turco-Greek frontier had been giving trouble for some time previously, and the following entry in Major Ardagh's diary shows that he had the subject in mind two years before his appointment as Commissioner.

April 4, 1879.—Greece is a troublesome anachronism. A wild and uncivilised, as well as corrupt and turbulent, population of less than a couple of millions threatens to disturb the peace of Europe. Most of the Greek revenue is spent on military preparations.

The Greeks have recently purchased 60,000

¹ Afterwards Sir William White, British Ambassador at Constantinople.

rifles from a Liège firm, and they have probably in the country a proportion of arms larger than any other nation in Europe. They are now the pets of France, and they have never abstained from harassing the adjacent Turkish territory by brigandage and filibustering. It is proposed that Turkey should cede them the fertile vale of Thessaly and the strongholds of the Albanian mountains in Epirus—and the wretched Turks will have to consent.

The new frontier will be a very difficult one to draw. At Berlin the valleys of the Kalamas and Peneus were suggested by M. Waddington, but there is a convenient ambiguity in the definition.

The valley of a river may be understood in two different ways:

1st. The line of the *Thalweg*, or deepest part of the bed of the river; and

2nd. The whole basin or area whose waters discharge into the river.

The first interpretation would imply a line capable of very exact definition from the sources of the respective rivers to their mouths, and it would not be difficult to suggest a suitable line joining the two, but such a line would be open to very grave objections. The abstract conditions which should govern the selection of a line of frontier are:

1st. That it should be a real ethnographical boundary between the adjacent nationalities.

2nd. That the line should be a natural or geographical feature.

3rd. That it should be a material obstacle with comparatively few communications across it, and those capable of defence on either side.

In short, it should be difficult to pass; easy to define and defend; and a fair line of separation between the peoples.

Now it so happens that the two rivers in question are, throughout the greater part of their courses, wanting in the first and last condition. The river basins are peopled by the same nationality and, being fordable, offer no obstacle to free communication across them, excepting on the lower Peneus, which is navigable. In the upper valleys the main lines of communication follow the streams, sometimes on one side, sometimes on another, so that great inconvenience would result were the *Thalweg* to be adopted as a boundary. In a rugged country like that in question, the mountain ranges, which are ordinarily impassable except at but a few points, form by far the best boundaries. If this be admitted, a new interpretation of the French proposal is opened—either the whole of the basins of the Peneus and Kalamas should be given to Greece, or else to Turkey. These opposite interpretations are probably the views advocated by the Turkish and Greek Governments.

Under these circumstances it will not be easy to arrive at an equitable compromise where neither side is inclined to make concessions. My own view is that a large portion of Thessaly and a very small portion of Epirus might be ceded.¹ What Greece wants is a corn-producing country to support an increasing population. The claim to Janina is a mere political subterfuge. The Greeks do not want the town because it is Greek, but because it is Albanian, and its possession would give to Greece a presumptive supremacy over the Albanians, among whom the inhabitants of Berat and Margarite, etc., are almost exclusively Mohammedans. The question, however, cannot be settled without some intervention of the signatory Powers.

¹ This solution was adopted in 1881.

The Greek frontier negotiations had already been in progress for some weeks when Major Ardagh arrived. His journal continues :

The lead had gravitated into the hands of Mr. Goschen rather from the force of circumstances than from any desire, for there was none, on the part of our Government. The meetings were held at the British Embassy and from the 16th to the 24th took place almost daily. The military part of the Convention was discussed by the Committee formed of the Military Attachés and myself, Captain Swaine representing England. Neither Germany nor Italy has a Military Attaché. In a few words, the Convention of Constantinople was signed on May 24 and is to be ratified before June 24.

Mr. Goschen, whose appointment had been merely temporary, now returned to London and was succeeded at the Embassy by Lord Dufferin.

The first part of my functions being over, I started on the 27th for Broussa in company with Sartoris and Collobiano of the English and Italian Embassies, the Italian Vice-Consul, Signor Maisa, and his wife and sister-in-law. Not having had time to procure a *teskééré*, or local passport, I, with Aristides, my servant, had to slip through as part of the following of our companions, which, thanks to Aristides' benign and dignified appearance (and also to some backsheesh), we were able to do.

Ahmed Vefyk is Vali of Broussa. Sartoris had a letter of introduction to him. I did not want to see him, but, as I had been in some manner connected with him through the refugee question, I called for politeness' sake ; so did Collobiano

and Maisa in their official capacities. Our visits were not returned. A day or two afterwards Sir Alfred Sandison came over and saw the pasha, who said that he was so sorry to find that we were gone! The origin of this gratuitous lie I shall return to presently.

We ascended the Bithynian Olympus (7,400 feet) and on our way up saw Mount Ida, with a long bright cap of snow. The Turkish name is Kaz Dagħ, or Goose Mountain, which may be an ironical allusion to C  none; Kar (snow) Dagħ would be more appropriate. We began our descent in a dense mist, so thick that we had nothing but a general north-westerly direction to guide us and in consequence of which Maisa stepped inadvertently on to a steep snow-slope and slid down some hundreds of feet. I feared that he had been killed as my shouts received no answer. I managed to grope my way down and found him but slightly injured. He had been shot out on a moraine of shingle and was bruised, but not seriously hurt. After floundering about on steep slopes of snow we at last rejoined our horses and reached the town by eight o'clock, having been sixteen hours on the move.

Ahmed Vefyk has many enemies in the palace, and the recent arrest of Midhat Pasha¹ makes him fear to show any familiarity with foreigners. He did not mean to be rude, but is in a state of terror lest he too may be charged with complicity in the murder of Abdul Aziz. The theory of his having been murdered now obtains general belief. Although nineteen doctors certified that he *might* have killed himself in the manner alleged, *i.e.* cutting the veins of the arm with scissors, there was no post-mortem, and the cause of death may have been, and probably was, not outwardly apparent. Curiously

¹ Leader of the Young Turks revolution in 1876, suppressed ruthlessly by Abdul Hamid.

enough, it does not seem to occur to the judicial authorities, even now, that the first thing to prove is that he neither committed suicide nor died a natural death. I should like to hear the account of the favourite Circassian girl whose brother, no doubt at her instigation, burst into the Council of Ministers and shot Hussein Avni and the others. Of those now accused, Mahmud and Nourri certainly profited most. A vast quantity of treasure disappeared and was never accounted for. Mahmud Damat also, in my view, is responsible for most of the defeats in the war with Russia—by crippling Mehemet Ali near Rustchuk, by keeping Osman in Plevna, by supporting Suleiman's personal intrigues to get the supreme command and by utterly neglecting preparations for a second line of defence. Apart from the question of assassination, he is such an utter villain that one cannot feel much for him, even if the reports are true that he has been tortured, for no wretch ever deserved the rack more. (He had got very bloated, and it is said that they squeezed him.)

No evidence as to the administration of justice in Turkey can be more condemnatory than Midhat's taking refuge in a foreign Consulate and asking for a trial under foreign auspices. He is an able man and in many positions has done extremely well; but to him must be attributed in a considerable degree (after Ignatieff) the failure of the Conference of Constantinople in 1876. He is, at least, far superior to the vile clique who ordinarily rule the country for their own benefit and its destruction. It is lamentable to see the Turkish people, so brave and kind and good, a prey to the rascals who govern them.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *June*.—We returned to Constantinople on June 2 and on the 14th the ratifications of the Convention were exchanged. The Queen's Messenger of the 16th brought my official

appointment as H.M.'s Commissioner for the Delimitation of the Turco-Greek Frontier and General Hamley arrived on the 16th as Commissioner of the Evacuation Commission for the ceded territory. Lord Dufferin having also arrived, we all dined with him on Saturday and on Tuesday accompanied him and the staff of the Embassy to Yildiz Kiosk for his official reception by the Sultan. . . .

The new Sultan is a meek and depressed-looking man of medium height and build, black hair and beard, with a sallow brown complexion. Lord Dufferin read an address in French which had previously been submitted and approved. This was translated to the Sultan in a very abbreviated form. He then replied in Turkish, the substance again being translated. We then were all presented and retired into another room, where lemonade, coffee and cigarettes were served. Lord Dufferin had a private audience of the Sultan and meanwhile I had a conversation with Osman, partly in Turkish, partly with the help of Preziosi, one of the Embassy dragomans. I had made Osman's acquaintance first during the Servian war when he commanded a corps at Adlié, opposite Zaicar, which he should, in my opinion, have attacked, but he remained inactive, as indeed he did until it was too late, at the passage of the Danube.

After many delays, the members of the Delimitation and Evacuation Commissions received orders to start. The English members of the former were Major Ardagh, Captain de Wolski and Lieutenant J. J. Leverson; and of the latter General Hamley, Colonel Clery, Captain Swaine, and Lieutenant E. Edgar Vincent; France, Germany, Austria, Russia and Italy being represented on both.



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

p. 128]

CORFU, 1881.

On June 24 those members of the Commissions who were at Constantinople embarked on an Austrian Lloyd steamer for Corfu, stopping at Piræus, where they went by train to Athens, visiting the antiquities and lunching with Mr. Clare Ford, our minister there. On the evening of the 27th Cephalonia lay to the west off their course.

Argostoli [Major Ardagh continues], the harbour of Cephalonia, which I visited in 1877, is celebrated for one of the most remarkable natural phenomena in the world. There is, so to speak, a hole in the bottom of the sea into which the water runs away. The abyss being on the very coast, the current which runs into it is utilised to turn a mill. Before I saw it I was incredulous, but there is no room whatever for doubt. These vortexes, or *katavothra*, into which streams flow and disappear, are common enough in Greece and Albania and above the sea-level present nothing surprising; but the fact of a vacuum existing below the bottom of the sea is most strange. There is also another very curious natural phenomenon. A narrow fissure between two masses of rock opens and closes in regular pulsations, as if the masses vibrated like a pendulum.

Corfu was reached on the 28th and here Major Ardagh was joined by Captain de Wolski and Lieutenant J. J. Leverson. On the 29th the two Commissions transhipped to the s.s. *Iris*, which had been chartered for their service by the Greek Government and proceeded to Arta, where considerable delays occurred, partly owing to the non-arrival of the Turkish representatives.

Writing to an officer of the Intelligence Department about this time, Lieutenant Leverson says :

You must not imagine that we were idle at Arta ; on the contrary, de Wolski and I were always out measuring bases, triangulating, or sketching. Ardagh, or *Ardour*, as we have named him, is the most wonderful man I have ever met. He works about nineteen hours a day himself and never tires, taking for granted that every one else can work at least twelve hours a day out of doors in a hot sun and feel none the worse for it. The only relaxations he ever allows himself are paying official visits (when he likes to be accompanied by the whole of his staff) and making sketches in water-colours.¹

¹ He also had a taste for working out mathematical problems, as he found it rested him from his other work.

CHAPTER IX

DELIMITATION OF THE TURCO-GREEK FRONTIER

1881

Difficulties of the Delimitation Commission—Brigandage in Greece—Murder of the beauties of Janina—Murder of a Turkish officer—The scruples of a brigand—Defeat of Roustan—The foreign colleagues retire—The last march—The Blue Ballet-Girl—The Order of the “Croix du Sauveur.”

THE Delimitation Commission left Arta on July 13. The Government had happily furnished them with sure-footed mules accustomed to the country, which was a most difficult one to traverse, the tracks being execrable. For half the way a false step meant certain death. No beast of burden used to a civilised land could survive such a task. A little ledge of loose jagged stones a few inches wide, with a precipice above and below, was the general type of the paths which they had to follow. The usual extreme changes of temperature were met with and the Turkish Commissioners were either ignorant or obstructive, or both. Whenever Major Ardagh, to whom the direction of the topographical work had been entrusted, looked at his instruments or mounted his theodolite, his whole party was regarded with the greatest suspicion by the Turks,

as if this implied some sacrifice of territory. In eleven days they had completed the survey of about fifty miles of the new frontier, including a complete network of triangulation and three accurate latitudes. The average width surveyed was about five miles, making about 250 square miles—over twenty square miles a day. Captain de Wolski did the triangulation and astronomical observations, Major Ardagh about two-thirds of the detailed sketches and the rest were made by Lieutenant Leverson and Captain Lycoudis. Major Ardagh and his party were delayed for nearly three weeks at Janina by the obstructive tactics of the Turks,¹ but were able to employ their time profitably in drawing a fair copy of their map.

JANINA, *August 10*.—Brigandage is still rife throughout the province and it is unsafe to go an hour's distance from the town without a large escort. There are frequent conflicts with the brigands. An officer was killed about a week ago and a batch of forty prisoners has lately been brought in. It is generally understood that as soon as they can raise the money to square the authorities they will be allowed to escape.

A few days ago the Chief of the Police at Tricala, seeing that his occupation, which was never a very remunerative one, was about to come to an end in consequence of the cession, forestalled his dismissal and adopted the profession of brigand. He is now at the head of a band of over a hundred, chiefly composed of *ci-devant* police, Albanian

¹ One Turkish officer who had written instructions not to allow Major Ardagh to move more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilos (*sic*) from the frontier, interpreted kilo as a Turkish measure the width of a thumb-nail.

Mohammedans, who had nothing to hope for from the Turks. Other bands run from fifty to three hundred in number.

I have been informed that a youth in our service has been seen in company with brigands and is giving them information of our movements. He looks far more like a ballet-girl than a man, with his wide-plaited fustanella and narrow waist. As any one else would be open to the same objection, I shall not dismiss him, for he is very satisfactory in other ways. No doubt every effort will be made to catch some of the Commission, particularly the English, who are such valuable prizes. I hear that while we were at Peristeri several bands were watching our movements.

Considering the large number of troops now at Janina, this condition of affairs is disgraceful. With energetic action it could be put an end to in a month. The Turkish authorities do little or nothing and the troops, when sent on any expedition, live on the villagers instead of hunting the brigands. The real secret of this wide-spread brigandage is that the whole of the Christian population is disaffected; that the Turks, fearing an insurrection, do not allow them to carry arms and the villages are consequently defenceless; and as they are not protected by the Turks, many of them have no choice but to rest on good terms with the brigands, who treat them with more consideration.

I do not like to ask for a small army every time I go out, so am practically a prisoner. I asked an old man who remembered Ali Pasha whether the country under his tyrannical rule was better or worse off and he said that then at least they were free from brigands. No doubt Ali, villain though he was, ruled the country well. Janina has forgotten all its history previous to him and his name is still remembered with awe.

In the citadel is the tomb where his body lies; the head was sent to Constantinople. An iron grating, resembling those in vogue in Scotland during the body-snatching scare, covers it. A chamber in the upper story of a little house at the Monastery of Sotiras, on the east shore of the island, is the place where he met his death.

Bullet-holes in the floor and ceiling and blood-stains on the floor are shown. One of Ali's most atrocious acts was the drowning of the beauties of Janina. The wife of his son Mukhtar complained of his attentions to Euphrosine, the wife of a merchant and to other fair creatures of whom she gave a list to Ali, comprising the seventeen handsomest women in Janina. That night they were all put in sacks and drowned in the lake. This tragedy seems to have inspired Byron with the idea of the fate of "Leila," as hinted at in "The Giaour." Palace-building was one of Ali's fancies. The best sites in Janina were adorned by his *konaks* and *serais*, but of them not a stone has been left standing, the whole having been destroyed by order of the Porte.

August 13.—At last we are allowed to proceed. Before starting, we had the Turks to dinner and I unfolded my plan for carrying on the survey, which I divided into three operations :

1st. The erection of marks or signals on the points to be employed in triangulation.

2nd. The triangulation or fixture of these points.

3rd. The detail survey based on the points fixed.

The Turkish officers only saw in this a deep-laid scheme for the more complete dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, but eventually gave way in part. We had an escort of forty Circassians as far as Teso Bey Han, which will be increased to eighty by infantry who will go with us into the mountains.

Great ill-will was shown all along by the Vlach muleteers and it became evident on at least one occasion, that they were in league with the brigands, for they did all they could to persuade the party to stop at Dervendista, where, on the following day, a Turkish officer and soldier were murdered, on their way to join the Commission which had perversely marched four hours further on to the foot of the summit of Peristeri and camped at a height of 7,000 feet.

Major Ardagh set out and recovered the body of the officer, but the soldier was never heard of again. Subsequently the Turks had a battle with the brigands and brought in one head, which horrible object was exposed to public view at Metsovo for some days.

August 19.—The ghastly trophy was buried when I passed this morning. I sent our people to camp on the southern side of the Zygos Pass and went myself to complete a portion of the frontier between the Khaliki road and Peristeri. The crest was one of the sharpest I have seen. A saddle literally might have been placed upon it in most parts, and I had to crawl along it on all fours. . . .

The Turkish soldiers are certainly the most enduring, good-natured beings in existence. I never see them eat anything, and begin to doubt their having any rations at all.¹ Those in my escort have certainly never had anything to cook

¹ We buy them sheep from the flocks which pasture on the mountains. They are small, but not dear, at seven shillings each. They are chiefly valuable for their wool, and for cheese, as there is no demand for meat.

from their Government, or any vessels to cook it in, no tents, and most of them no great-coats ; yet they are capable of longer marches, and are more contented, than any other troops. They are not *almost* in rags, but *quite*. The scabbards of their bayonets have rotted away, their pouches have fallen to pieces and their equipments consist of a *bandoulière* constructed out of any rags at hand and occasionally a bag and piece of string in lieu of a knapsack, into which, if they possessed one, they would have nothing to put. They are shod with pieces of raw hide.

There is a rumour that Roustan Bey, the *ci-devant* Chief of Police at Trikala, now captain of a band of brigands, has sent a message to the Turkish authorities to request that our escort (now of about two hundred) should be withdrawn, as he has sworn to cut all our throats and has a compunction as to shedding the blood of the escort. We never divide into more than three parties, two for surveying and one for the baggage. We take no account of Sundays or feast-days (except the first day of Bairam, when the escort rested and we presented them with seventeen lambs), but work without cessation.

September 1.—To-day, in the course of my surveying, we passed a hill on the frontier about two hours from here, on which took place a week ago a combat between the bands of Daveli,¹ a well-known brigand, and Roustan Bey. The appearance of this band in a country which the old-established Greek brigands had come to regard as their own private preserve, aroused their indignation ; they determined to co-operate in

¹ Daveli had made up his mind to capture Major Ardagh and had fixed on the sum of £40,000 as his ransom. He counted his chickens, however, before they were hatched and the last that was heard of him was that he had retired from business as a brigand, and settled down to a respectable life.

driving off the intruders and placed themselves under the leadership of Daveli, who was desirous of closing his distinguished career by some crowning exploit. With a view of ingratiating himself with the Greek Government and obtaining an amnesty, he attacked Roustan Bey with a band of 150 men, the latter having 120. Roustan was surprised about noon and routed. The bodies of the killed lay stripped and unburied. I saw several, and one in particular which had been half burned. Those who hunted round the place reported that there were twelve in all. The wounded, of course, were carried off. The villagers say that Daveli gave orders not to bury the corpses, but to leave the proofs of his victory, which were only too evident to more senses than one. Roustan's band is specially hostile to Christian villages. Nostrovo is in great terror of him and regards Daveli as a deliverer.

This action took place while the rest of the Commission was near and the firing went on for three hours. It seems to have had an extraordinary effect in accelerating their movements, for I have just heard that they intend to finish in twenty days. I picked up on the scene of the combat the torn relic of Roustan Bey's commission, signed by half a dozen dignitaries.

We have an old lieutenant with us who has a brother in Roustan's band and who himself was once a brigand. He is greatly incensed at the idea of honest Mussulman brigands being killed by mere Greeks and threatens to write to his brother to call down vengeance on the village protected by Daveli.

By September 14 the Delimitation Commission had arrived at Zarkos and had only about 100 kilomètres left to survey. Major Ardagh found

his foreign colleagues of little use, as they neglected to erect the signals which they had agreed to place in conspicuous positions, although they must have known that these signals were absolutely necessary for purposes of observation. Major Ardagh had asked for one signal only at every five kilomètres, but none were erected and he, Captain de Wolski, Lieutenant Leverson and Captain Lycoudis were left to finish the survey entirely alone, the remainder of the Commission having somewhat hurriedly retired to Salonika, where nevertheless they were obliged to await Major Ardagh and his map. It is true that the marching was arduous and difficult along the crests of the hill and that the brigands were an *inconvenient*, but they had an escort of four hundred men and if every one of these had carried a stone it would have been easy to build good-sized pyramids where required.

The weather has now become extremely cloudy, the summits of the mountains are hidden by mist, and good drinking water is very scarce, so that the escort has to descend into the valleys to fill their bottles and then return again to the crest which our duty obliges us to follow.

KARYA, *October 1.*—In camp at Karya between Olympus and Octolophos (Eight Hills), with rain nearly all day and mountains enveloped in mist; however, we can afford a few rainy days to ink in and copy detail surveys, make calculations, post up accounts, write letters, etc., all of which have been sacrificed to forward the main object. Unfortunately the cold has caused a little sickness. I have an old Vlach muleteer upon whom I am

making experiments with my *répertoire* of medicines—Eno's Fruit Salt, opium, quinine, Dover's powders, Cockles' pills and chlorodyne. He has had a little of each now and is nearly well of his fever and dysentery. He seems to be disappointed that they are not more nasty and his confidence was much abated when he took a dose of chlorodyne, which he appeared to find far too nice.

Since Zarkos we have now and then seen a covey of grey partridges and here and there traces of pig, but game is rare. The atmosphere is so moist that ink and paint will hardly dry upon the paper. I have to hold my drawings over a candle to dry them, a striving contrast to the extreme dryness of the summer, when ink dried up in a pen in a few moments.

October 4.—Lycoudis has been very ill and I have had to doctor him, happily with success; Leverson has also been laid up, but is better.

Our last march is over and the work is done. The "Wait-a-bit" thorn seems to flourish here, as everywhere, to the destruction of clothes, and my mule had a habit of bolting straight up precipices, even when there was a fairly negotiable track in front of him, and likewise under branches which it was impossible to avoid.

TCHAI AGZY,¹ *October 14.*—The Turks brought their escort through across the new frontier and Leverson's detachment had a little brush with the Evzones, who wanted to make prisoners of them. *Evzone*, the designation of the Greek frontier battalions, means "well-girt" and they certainly do look wasp-waisted. They wear the national Greek costume and are picked volunteers of excellent physique and remarkable marching powers.

I observe that whenever the Turkish and Greek soldiers come together they are very good friends

¹ Small port at the foot of Mount Ossa, on the Gulf of Salonika.

and immediately proceed to explain to each other the mechanism of their rifles. The Turks have the Martini-Henry and the Greeks the Gras, made in Styria. A mutual childlike interest in their weapons seems to animate them. The Turks indeed think of little else. While I have been employed on the frigid summit of some mountain I have often seen them fall in and go through their manual and platoon, and bayonet or sword exercise, for mere amusement. They are a perfect patchwork of rags, happiness and contentment.

Our young brigand, whom we engaged at Janina and whom I dubbed "the blue ballet-girl," from the colour and cut of his fustanella, served us excellently. His history is a singular one. His father died in debt and the inexorable creditor came to take possession of the family effects, including a bed on which lay his sick mother. The youth snatched up a gun and shot the usurer. There was then no course open to him but to fly to the mountains and join the brigands. He promised to abandon brigandage as a profession and said that when he left us he would join his uncle in the Morea. I inquired what his uncle was and he told me, without a blush, that he was a horse-stealer! I had some difficulty in making him understand that the profession was not an honourable one, but eventually he promised to live an honest life and we parted with him with regret.

Salonika was reached about 11 p.m. on October 18, after a twelve-hours' passage in a Turkish gun-boat.¹ Writing from Constantinople, under

¹ During the labours of the Delimitation Commission two questions only arose which the delegates were compelled to refer for diplomatic negotiation. Between Zarkos and Kritiri the Turkish Commissioners refused to accept the frontier line accorded by the terms of the Convention, their object being to cut by a wedge of Turkish territory the only road connecting the upper and

date November 29, 1881, to Lord Granville at the Foreign Office, Lord Dufferin says :

CONSTANTINOPLE, *November 29.*

I think it but fair to call your lordship's attention to the eminent services of Major Ardagh in connection with the Delimitation Commission. Without the slightest disparagement to his colleagues, it may be fairly said that the labour and heat of the day has almost exclusively fallen upon his shoulders. The surveys have been altogether his work ; from first to last he has exhibited an amount of conscientious energy and zeal which is deserving of the greatest credit ; in every case where there has occurred any difference of opinion between himself and the other members of the Commission I have no hesitation in saying that Major Ardagh had the right upon his side and throughout the entire proceedings he has shown great soundness of judgment. He has had to discharge his task occasionally under very trying circumstances and I have therefore all the greater pleasure in calling your lordship's attention to the excellent work done by this meritorious officer.

For their services on this occasion Major Ardagh, Captain de Wolski, and Lieutenant Leverson were offered by the King of the Hellenes, the order of the " Croix du Sauveur," which, under the existing regulations, they were unable to accept.

Major Ardagh, who had attained substantive rank in September 1880, was made a Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in November 1882.

lower Thessalian plains. Here they found themselves in the same minority as Colonel Bogoliubow on the Bulgarian Boundary Commission, for all the foreign delegates objected in a body to this infringement of the agreement. The other difficulty arose in fixing the final point where the line ended near the shore.

CHAPTER X

THE EGYPTIAN CRISIS OF 1882

Arrival at Port Said—Defences of Alexandria—Water supply—
Shots exchanged with Arábi—Defensive measures at Ramleh
—Repairing the railway—Skirmish with Arábi—Recon-
naissance in force—Charges of looting.

IN the Appendix will be found an article dealing with the Egyptian question from an Imperial and European standpoint, written by Sir John Ardagh nearly a quarter of a century after the events took place with which we are now concerned, and which presented themselves to him from a military or personal aspect during the six years of his service in the country.

No one doubts that the first Egyptian Expedition of 1882 was conducted with secrecy in its inception, and rapidity and success in its execution, but as to the refusal of the British Government to allow the march to Berber to be undertaken after the Arabs had been driven from Tamanib at the close of the Eastern Sudan Expedition in March 1884, the dissent of General Sir Frederick Stephenson, Sir Herbert Stewart, Colonel Ardagh and other experienced officers at that time in Egypt, was strongly expressed and deeply felt. Subsequent events showed only

too clearly how correct these views had been, but they were not shared at the time by the authorities at home.

The fruits of the Eastern Sudan Expedition would seem to have been thus practically thrown away, though immediate action at that moment, for a moderate cost, would have saved, not only many valuable lives and the expenditure of large sums of money, but a dark blot on the fair name of England.

As regards the delay in the advance of the Nile Expedition for the relief, not of General Gordon only, but, as he himself indignantly puts it, of those who trusted, in him, the word of England, there was no difference of opinion among soldiers, either at home or in Egypt. The only question which remained open was: which of three possible routes to adopt when at length a start was made?

The opinion of the general¹ commanding the Army of Occupation in Egypt and of his advisers was overruled, and the Nile route chosen.

The results speak for themselves and many letters written by officers at the front to the Commandant of the base express entire loyalty to their chief, but deplore the decision arrived at.²

¹ General Sir Frederick Stephenson.

² Confidential letters written to Colonel Ardagh in 1883-4 from London show that war was expected to break out either between England and Germany, or between England and Russia. See "Life of the Second Earl Granville," vol. ii., as to England's position at that time in relation to those two countries, which, with the failure to relieve General Gordon, nearly brought about the fall of the Government.

Major Ardagh fully recognised the difficulties with which Mr. Gladstone's Government had to deal during the years which followed the first Egyptian Expedition, when divisions in the Cabinet and fears of a European war hampered their movements, but his views as to the permanent character of the English occupation of Egypt never varied from 1876, when he first visited the country, and are fairly stated in his article on "British Rule in Egypt."

Major Ardagh returned to England after his strenuous period of service on the Turco-Greek frontier, and in February 1882 was appointed Instructor in Military Law and History at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham.

His note-book at this time contains a detailed scheme for the construction and defence of a Channel tunnel, by which he considered it could be made theoretically tenable for at least a month against an enemy furnished with every appliance for a siege. He did not, however, recommend its construction.

Subsequent events at Ismailia were evidently foreshadowed in his mind at that date, for the next entry in the note-book is a plan for probable operations there and at Nefishé, particularly with regard to railways and water-supply.

Major Ardagh's employment at Chatham lasted only a very short time, for on July 4, while at Canterbury with a class of R.E. Officers under his instruction, he received a telegram directing him

to proceed to London, which he reached the same night.

He found orders awaiting him to proceed at once to Sir Garnet Wolseley's house in Hill Street, where he was given certain instructions, coupled with a charge of secrecy.¹ He was to go abroad, ostensibly to Belgium. He returned next morning to Chatham, packed up a field-kit and left for London again the same day. Sir Evelyn Wood,² his general at Chatham, came up in the same train and, from the amount of his baggage and from his having heard nothing about Major Ardagh's departure, made a very straight guess at the destination for which he was bound.

He left Victoria that night, travelling straight through to Brindisi, where he embarked on H.M.S. *Salamis*, where he was joined two days later by Sir Archibald Alison, Colonel Gerard, Captain Hutton,³ and Colonels Ashburton and Ogilvy of the 60th.

On Friday, July 14, the *Salamis* anchored off

¹ For Major Ardagh's secret destination, see a letter from Lord Granville to Lord Spencer, August 18, 1882: "The attack at Abukir Bay is a feint. Our people are going at once to the Canal, but this is to be kept secret." On August 7 Lord Granville addressed a circular to the Powers, stating that, with the approbation of the Khedive, Great Britain would take all necessary steps to safeguard the Canal. The Sultan was informed that the Turkish *Corps d'Armée* would not be allowed to land until he had disclosed what his real intentions were, and had declared Arábi a rebel. On the night of the 19th Sir Garnet Wolseley landed at Port Said, and on September 13 the battle of Tel-el-Kebir was fought. See "Life of the Second Earl Granville," vol. ii.

² Now F.-M. Sir Evelyn Wood, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., V.C.

³ Now Lieut.-General Sir Edward Hutton, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Limasol, the *Northumberland* and *Agincourt* having already arrived with the 38th, 60th, and 1 Company R.E. Here they learned that Alexandria had been bombarded on Tuesday the 11th and that, upon fire being re-opened the next morning, white flags were hoisted. Arábi and his followers left the town, which was set on fire in several places.

In order to be as complete in equipment as possible [writes Major Ardagh], Sir Archibald Alison authorised me to obtain whatever I could from the depots of ordnance and engineer stores at Cyprus. Sir Robert Biddulph¹ gave every assistance, and Major Chard,² V.C., R.E., worked hard to get everything on board. All was embarked at 4 a.m., and at 10 a.m. on the 15th we sailed for Port Said, no answer having been received from London and the emergency contemplated having arisen.

Reached Port Said on the 16th. H.M.S. *Penelope*,³ *Iris*, and *Coquette* lay there, as well as a fleet of mixed nationality. What our ultimate destination was to have been I shall keep a secret—suffice it to say we were ordered to Alexandria, and sailed at 3 p.m. At seven the next morning met the Dispatch vessel *Helicon* from Alexandria, reporting reinforcements necessary there without delay, as the fleet had sent parties ashore to keep order and to hold the town, and was too weak to continue occupation. General gave orders for method of landing in event of affairs being critical on arrival.

¹ General Sir Robert Biddulph, G.C.B., C.M.G., at that time High Commissioner for Cyprus.

² The defender of Rorke's Drift. He died in 1897.

³ The *Penelope* had come straight from Alexandria, where she had been hit eight times by Arábi's guns and considerably damaged. See "The Egyptian Campaigns of 1882-99," by Charles Royle.

Monday, July 17.—Arrived at Alexandria. The town and enceinte are strongly guarded by blue-jackets and marines under Captain Fisher¹ and Lord Charles Beresford.² Looting has prevailed and several Arabs caught in the act were summarily shot.

Inspected defences with Sir Archibald Alison. In consequence of the extensive gaps and breaches and the many entrances, there was some apprehension of a rush being attempted by Arábi's adherents, who were known to be numerous both within and without the walls. From a military point of view, as well as a political one, it is therefore most desirable to make the enceinte secure against a *coup-de-main* without delay. The most dangerous and consequently the most important point of all is the great breach near the fort of Kom-ed-Dyk, the interior redoubt of the town, and undoubtedly the key of Alexandria.

A battalion of marines lately from England disembarked from the *Tamar* and took over the line of defence from the mouth of the Mahmudié Canal to Bab-el-Gedid station. The 36th and 17th Company R.E. landed and took up their quarters close to Gabbari bridge. I ordered the Company³ immediately to take in hand the defence of a gap existing between the Mahmudié Canal near Gabbari and the point up to which the old fortifications had been demolished.

July 18.—A solid parapet of dry rubble masonry has been constructed across the gap. Captain Hyslop and I went round and inspected defences. Stores were landed during the day, but delay took place in the delivery of some considerable part belonging to R.E.

¹ Now Admiral Sir John Fisher, G.C.B.

² Now Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, G.C.V.O., K.C.B.

³ Major Ardagh had been appointed Commanding Royal Engineer, under Major-General Sir Archibald Alison.

In the afternoon the 17th Company commenced and finished a palisade across the front of the railway station, a perfectly open gap of 50 yards' width in the defences, and took in hand the rendering serviceable of a drawbridge at Moharrem Bey Gate. The Company worked splendidly. I set out also a retrenchment to secure the weakest point in the fortifications, viz. a great breach in which formerly stood a tower-bastion where a gun-cotton factory exploded some years ago, destroying everything near.

July 19.—Drawbridge cleared and made serviceable. Retrenchment at great breach continued. The general complimented the 17th Company on the way they worked.

In view of the failure of the water-supply owing to Arábi's cutting the Mahmudié Canal, a beginning was made of clearing out some of the large ancient tanks, by Mr. Cornish, Chief Engineer of the Alexandria water-works. I furnished what stores I could and authorised purchase of the rest. The tanks generally have but a few inches of water in them, stale and foul. All this has to be cleared out and holes and cracks made good before re-filling. In the afternoon I rode out with the general to reconnoitre in the direction of Arábi, who is entrenching himself at Kafr-ed-Dawar,¹ seventeen miles from Alexandria, on the Cairo railway. The best view is from the water-works at Ramleh. Arábi's position seems to be very strong—right flank on Lake Edfu, now a marshy quicksand, left on Lake Mareotis; and gentle hills about a hundred feet high, with an easy slope, in front. I had a powerful telescope, but with

¹ Kafr-ed-Dawar and Tel-el-Kebir are the two most important strategical points in the defence of Lower Egypt. Arábi had possession of the railway between these two places. After Tel-el-Kebir, Kafr-el-Dawar surrendered to General Sir Evelyn Wood on September 16, when 6,000 men laid down their arms.

the exception of a group of long-robed Arabs under a tree, I could see no one.

At 1 a.m. there was an explosion which, as a gun is the alarm-signal, occasioned a general turn-out. It was, however, only a false alarm caused by the blowing down of some of the walls of the still burning houses.

July 20.—Continued construction of entrenchment at large breach, now well in hand. Obtained 60 Arab labourers to carry earth in baskets. We should have had some earlier, but upon their appearance the picket stood to its arms and the Egyptians bolted. I took precautions to prevent a recurrence of this.

Information received that Arábi had dammed the canal in order to make an inundation on the flank of his position. I consequently took additional measures to secure the water-supply still remaining, and began making a coffer-dam across the Madmudié Canal. Captain¹ Elliott Wood, R.E., the proper commander of the 17th Company, joined from leave to-day and took command. Repair of defences and construction of retrenchments continued. I found a quantity of gun-cotton, dynamite and fulminates in a magazine and had it thrown into the sea. We still get very little assistance in the way of working-parties, there being many other demands upon troops.

Mr. Cornish² went out with a small escort of mounted infantry along the canal and put a stop to all pumping-engines, by removing some essential part of their gear. Cleansing of tanks and reservoirs continued and electric light apparatus brought up to the top of Kom-ed-Dyk by Captain Hughes Hallett's naval people.

¹ Afterwards Major-General Sir Elliott Wood, K.C.B., Major Ardagh's right hand at Alexandria.

² J. F. Cornish, Esq., C.M.G., M.I.C.E., Managing Director of the Alexandria Water Company.

The water in the canal has fallen another foot, and soon will be level with the sea. Arábi is still fortifying on the side of Kafr-ed-Dawar.

July 21.—Lieutenant Heath and ten men went by train to Mallaha junction and removed rails from line a train's length on Cairo side. Shots were exchanged between mounted infantry and Arábi's outposts, marking the commencement of hostilities.

The coffer-dam at Gabbari bridge was completed, thus preventing the water in the canal from running out and the sea water from running in.

The main breach is now being repaired by 150 Arabs under Charles Neufeld, the interpreter.¹

July 23.—The 60th, two 7-pounders, and 30 R.E. under Lieutenant Thompson went by train on Ramleh railway at 6.30 and occupied position from Lake Mareotis across the neck. The reservoir of Ramleh water-works forms the principal post. The canal bridge and the pumping station were occupied. A cavalry patrol of Arábi's boldly rode down towards the bridge along the railway and arrived within 480 yards of the picket. Several shots were exchanged, but, for some unexplained reason, the picket did not reply in force and the cavalry, after losing a horse, retired.

¹ Neufeld was a German of some education, having studied for the medical profession in his own country, and passed his examinations, but failed to take his final diploma, on technical grounds. He emigrated to Egypt and was useful in regulating the Arab labour, under the sudden pressure of events at Alexandria. Subsequently, believing that he could acquire an influence for good over the Mahdi, and hoping also to trade in the Sudan, in spite of direct orders to the contrary from Major Ardagh, he went to the Sudan, where he was almost immediately captured and held in confinement for twelve years. He was rescued from captivity by Lord Kitchener after the battle of Omdurman, and was alive and prosperous at Assuan in the spring of 1907, when my husband and I were there.

Two guns then opened fire from a point on the Mahmudié Canal about two miles off. A splinter struck one of our mounted infantry men.

By this time the 46th and half the 35th had landed and got into their stations on the Alexandria defences, the 38th then coming out to Ramleh. Two Naval 7-pounders were also brought out. I laid out hastily a line of defences and set the men to work, but, after a mere shelter-trench was dug, found it difficult to get anything else done. We put the engine-station in a sort of state of defence and also the bridge over the canal. The 60th, 38th, and R.E. were quartered in Ramleh barracks. Work was continued at the great breach and other points of enceinte. Mr. Cornish is proceeding very energetically with clearing out and filling the water-tanks. Returned from Ramleh at night very tired and done.

July 26.—A Commission composed of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, Sir Auckland Colvin, Captain Molyneux, R.N., Mr. Cornish and myself were appointed to see after the water-works and water-supply. Went this morning at 6.30 on board the *Helicon*.

Went to Ramleh afterwards and saw two 4-pounders brought out by Major Noyes, R.A., and mounted on solid platforms. Wood inspected an advanced house and reported it suitable for a defensible post. We had thought at first of demolishing it. Sunk some experimental tube wells, but without success. Arábi had white flags flying.

July 27.—Wood put house beyond canal in state of defence. I attended meeting of Commission on board *Helicon*, and subsequently drove to Ramleh with general and rode on along the bank of canal towards Arábi's position. Saw only four men.

Fortification of position continues slowly for

want of working parties. We have now four 4-pounders, six 9-pounders, 2 Gatlings, 1,500 infantry, and 40 Engineers.

July 28.—Rode to Ramleh at 5.45 ; laid out additional works. We are to have 200 men from 8.30 to 12 and from 1.30 to 5. Nothing stirring on Arábi's side. A train sent out from Gabbari station to await the deputation from Cairo coming out from Arábi's camp came to grief at a point where the line was broken by Arábi.

Selected permanent line of defence for Gabbari end ; arranged to take possession of a house on the canal and build a blockhouse near the unfinished swing-bridge.

Sir Archibald Alison went out in the afternoon on an armed train to near Mallaha and there was some fire. The guns on our lines opened fire, but at too long ranges.

July 29.—Gave directions about blockhouses ; commenced building. Went with Cornish to see admiral about water-supply. Gave orders for two parties R.E., each 1 officer and 20 men, to be ready to move out to-night in trains to repair breaks in line near Mallaha. Accompanied train from Moharrem Bey station—took up three officers and eighty men at Ramleh with detachment R.E. and crossed bridge over canal.

At 8.30 commenced repairing line broken by us near bridge. When complete went on to point where line had been taken up by Arábi—the iron-plated train coming up from Gabbari at the same time on the other line. It was bright moonlight and perfectly still. A company of Rifles and two companies of marines were at Mallaha junction and the infantry mounted scouts a little beyond. It was curious to observe at what a very short distance the trains were visible and the sound of hammering, rails clashing, etc., was audible. Captain Hyslop, R.E., and Lieutenant

Thompson had charge of the parties. In a couple of hours all was finished, and by 1 a.m. the long train of thirty trucks from Gabbari was brought past the junction and shunted back on the Moharrem Bey line. I dropped the working party at Ramleh and at 2 a.m. was in Alexandria. The operation was very successful.

Sunday, July 30, which was a day of rest for the men, seems to have been fairly well filled for Major Ardagh :

Wrote all the morning, and in the evening went with Colonel Dormer to call on Khedive—saw Stone Pasha, Federigo Pasha, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Ornstein, and then went round the lighthouse and Ras-et-Tin batteries to inspect the destruction wrought by our fleet.

August 2.—Ramleh may now be considered practically secure from raiders. A picket of the . . . with at least two officers posted on canal near a tope of trees a mile and a half on our left front was reconnoitred by Arábi's people about 2 a.m. They fired a few shots, killed a horse and then appear to have been struck by a panic. The man who bolted quickest reported all the picket cut to pieces. Not a man was scratched and the fugitives all reappeared. The general and Colonel Dormer investigated the case. Another regiment will be entrusted with the picket to-night.

After a detailed account of further arrangements made for the completion of the Ramleh defences and for the purpose of providing a reliable water-supply for Alexandria, Major Ardagh goes on to describe a reconnaissance on August 4 from Ramleh towards Kafr-ed-Dawar, over the sandy

margin of Lake Abukir near the right flank of Arábi's position. A few shots were exchanged at sunset, and the troops were withdrawn. Some Beduins towards Abukir fired as well. There were no casualties and Major Ardagh proceeded peacefully to make a sketch of the canal.

August 6.—Reconnaissance in force this evening. Marines, 60th, half 38th, half 46th. Armoured train and four naval guns. Marines advanced on railway—60th rather too far back in centre, and rest on east bank of canal, mounted infantry to left front. A lively action ensued, the brunt of the fighting being borne by the marines, who lost three killed and twenty wounded. Poor Howard Vyse, of the Mounted Infantry (60th), killed—an excellent young officer in every way, and a great favourite. Captured five mounted and four others of Arábi's troops, who fought extremely well and must have lost heavily. Our 4-pounders made excellent practice.

Major Ardagh's diary ends with the above entry. On August 15 General Sir Garnet Wolseley landed at Alexandria, leaving Port Said on the 18th. Two days later both Port Said, Ismailia and Kantara were in the hands of the English troops. On the 18th the "feint" alluded to in Lord Granville's letter of the same date to Lord Spencer was made at Abukir. The secret had been so well kept that both Europeans and Egyptians were completely deceived. As Major Ardagh maintained an absolute silence on the subject of his own secret instructions, certain people believed that he had gone to Egypt without

any orders at all—a rumour he never troubled himself to contradict.

The English fleet, having arrived in Abukir Bay, made ostensible preparations for an attack, but steamed away in the night and next day were at Port Said, by which time the Suez Canal was in the hands of the British Navy.

On August 21 Major Ardagh was ordered to hold an exhaustive enquiry into certain charges of looting brought against the English soldiery. The men were personally searched, but nothing was found and the reports were proved to have been devoid of foundation.

Major Ardagh's abstract of the work done by him while he was Commanding Royal Engineer at Alexandria concludes with the following paragraph :

Lieutenant Scott, R.N.,¹ and a party of men from H.M.S. *Inconstant* have been employed during the last week under my direction in bringing up and mounting on the Ramleh position two seven-inch seven-ton Armstrong guns, which are both ready for action. Lieutenant Scott and his party have been of the greatest use and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which Captain Wood and all the officers and men have striven to do every sort of duty required of them at a period of considerable pressure and anxiety.

¹ Now Rear-Admiral Sir Percy Moreton Scott, K.C.V.O., G.C.B., LL.D.

CHAPTER XI

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

1882

Tel-el-Kebir—In the trenches—After the battle—The Royal Engineers at Tel-el-Kebir—British Army of Occupation at Cairo—Review of the British forces—"The Dormitory"—Life at Cairo—Visit to Jerusalem—An unfulfilled prophecy—Outbreak of cholera—Society in Cairo—Clouds on the horizon.

MAJOR ARDAGH'S account of events at Alexandria ends on August 24, 1882. On the 23rd he received telegraphic orders to proceed to Port Said, embarked on the 25th and reached Ismailia on the 29th, after some little delay at the mouth of the Suez Canal.¹ At Ismailia preparations had for some time been going forward for an advance, the ultimate objective of which was Cairo, and by the 30th the railway had been sufficiently repaired to allow of a supply train

¹ He was at this time employed on Special Service under Sir Garnet, afterwards Lord, Wolseley, in the Intelligence Department and for Railways. He was subsequently appointed D.A.A.G. and Q.M.G. under General Sir Archibald Alison and General Sir Frederick Stephenson at Cairo. This appointment he held till September 1884.

running as far as Kassassin and Tel-el-Mahuta,¹ while tanks had been placed at suitable points along the line in order to provide water, of which there was a great scarcity, for the engines. The dam made by Arábi's force on the Fresh Water Canal between El Magfar and Tel-el-Mahuta had been captured on August 24 and destroyed, so that a fresh supply of water, untainted by the dead bodies with which the canal had been filled, was now available for the troops encamped at Kassassin.

From August 30 to September 11, there is only one hasty scrawl in Major Ardagh's pocket almanac: "Railway Administration, Ismailia." On the 12th it records his presence at Kassassin and Tel-el-Mahuta, and on the 13th merely the words "Battle of Tel-el-Kebir" are entered.

Of this event the principal record left by Major Ardagh is a panoramic sketch, of which a good many lithographed copies still exist, the original itself having been graciously accepted by Queen Victoria. Major Ardagh had been ordered to survey the country round Tel-el-Kebir by Sir Garnet Wolseley, in a letter written before the battle and qualified by the note: "if we take it." In submitting the sketch of the

¹ Tel-el-Mahuta, Mahsamch, and Kassassin had been occupied by the English troops by August 26, and the enemy had fallen back on Tel-el-Kebir, which is a small village on the south side of the Sweet-water Canal. It had been used for many years as a military camp. In 1881 Arábi had been exiled here with his mutinous regiment. The position was a very strong one.

battle-field later to Lord Wolseley, Major Ardagh says he has been obliged to force the light a little, but that the positions of the troops, etc., were considered perfectly accurate by all those concerned.

The English troops attacked Arábi's entrenched position just before dawn, at which moment Major Ardagh arrived with Major Wallace, R.E.,¹ on an iron-plated train, carrying a 40-pounder Armstrong in front. Shells soon began to burst all round them, but the gun could not, unfortunately, be brought into action, much to the disappointment of the sailors in charge.

Major Ardagh joined Sir Garnet Wolseley and the rest of the staff during the fighting, and was in the trenches with the Highland Brigade. The night was like black velvet, shrouding friend and foe alike. The Headquarter Staff halted by the advanced redoubt, held by the Egyptians, without knowing it to be there. The Egyptians themselves never saw the Headquarter Staff till they had moved forward; and the dawn broke on the attack by the Highland Brigade on Arábi's lines. The guns of the advanced redoubt then opened fire on our troops, which were thus between two fires.

I rode with Ardagh [writes Lord Grenfell].² Directly we got into the trenches and the camp

¹ Major Wallace was in charge of the Military Railway Corps.

² Then Colonel Grenfell. Now F.-M. Lord Grenfell, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

was taken, he occupied himself with the arrangement of water-carts for the use of the Egyptian wounded. The Headquarter Mess, where he and I afterwards lived, consisted of Lord Methuen, Redvers Buller, Colonel Dormer, Butler and myself.

It is well known how Arábi's position was carried and Cairo saved ; how Arábi fled, was captured, brought to trial and condemned to death, having pleaded guilty to a charge of rebellion. As to the misuse of the white flag which formed one of the counts in his indictment, the evidence produced was not considered conclusive and his sentence was eventually commuted to banishment to Ceylon.

Major Ardagh remained at Tel-el-Kebir as Senior Officer for railways until September 21, when he joined the rest of the Headquarter Staff at the Abdin Palace at Cairo. During the eight days which succeeded the battle great difficulties were experienced by the Railway Department, which was very short-handed and composed of men inexperienced in their duties. Engine-drivers were scarcely to be had, although high pay was offered, and many of them broke down under the immense pressure of work combined with the heat of an Egyptian sun in September. They had neither sufficient food nor rest, and were compelled to undergo serious privation and discomfort.¹

¹ " My special acknowledgments and thanks are due to Major Ardagh, who was indeed a friend in need. He, although my senior in the service, willingly lent a hand when the pressure was at its

During this period of stress Major Ardagh drove trains himself when no other help could be obtained and on one occasion remained at his post for so many hours in the burning heat that, when at last relieved, he lay down on the ground completely exhausted and slept for many hours.

It may fairly be claimed that the preparatory work done by the Royal Engineers previous to the battle of Tel-el-Kebir contributed in a high degree to the success of the operations, as the advance from Ismailia was chiefly dependent on the transport of supplies and but very little reliance could be placed upon the beasts of burden, which were few in number and incapable of carrying heavy loads over the sandy tracts, already much cut up by traffic between Ismailia and Kassassin, a distance of twenty-five miles.

The water in the canal was at too low a level to allow any but the lightest boats and pontoon rafts to travel through and day by day its condition became worse.

The railway was therefore the mainstay of the transport service and Major Ardagh, in a memorandum made a short time after the battle, describes the various difficulties which had to be overcome,

height and the numerical inadequacy of the railway staff was most felt; his sound judgment, good advice, readiness of resource in difficulties and, above all, his indomitable energy and good example, were of the greatest value and contributed much to the success of the operations."

See paper by Major Wallace, R.E. Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers, vol. ix., p. 79.

chiefly owing to want of suitable material for relaying that part of the line which had been taken up, and which had to be replaced by rails and sleepers too weak for heavy engines.

Labour, even unskilled, was scarce, and rose in price with the necessities of the moment from 1s. 6*d.* a day to 8s.

The requirements of the army amounted to 100 tons daily and another 100 tons at least had to be stored at the advanced depots at Kassassin and Mahuta, Mahsameh and the Cavalry Camp in the rear of Kassassin also requiring supplies. There was considerable delay in obtaining light engines from Alexandria and a still longer time elapsed before the arrival of the heavier engines whose traction-power amounted to from 20 to 30 trucks. Long delays were also caused by the want of coal and tank capacity in the engines. These various deficiencies were remedied as rapidly as possible and, as the sequel showed, with complete success.

On September 25 the Khedive re-entered his capital and drove through the streets, which were lined with British troops. On the 28th, on returning from the races which were held at Abbasieh, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Colonel Grove,¹ Major Ardagh and other members of the staff heard a loud report as they passed the railway-station, which was full of trucks laden with ammunition. Explosion followed explosion and it became evident that

¹ Now Major-General Sir Coleridge Grove, K.C.B.

the place was on fire. There was a large warehouse close by where a quantity of powder had been ordered to be stored, which of course made the situation an alarming one. Colonel Grove and Major Ardagh rode back and spent the whole night in removing the laden trucks whenever it seemed possible to approach them, for shells were bursting in all directions. Soon the fire was seen to be spreading towards the warehouse itself, and this created little short of a panic, but happily it was at last discovered to be empty! They were at work till six o'clock the next morning, when the fire, which was undoubtedly the act of an incendiary, was finally got under.¹

On September 30 the greater part of the British Army of Occupation being now encamped at Cairo or in the immediate neighbourhood, a review took place in the square in front of the Abdin Palace, and a large number of orders and medals were distributed by the Khedive with a lavish hand.²

Early in October Major Ardagh paid a flying visit to Alexandria and Abukir and on his return to Cairo seems to have turned from matters of life and death to the lighter side of existence. After assisting at the fêtes given by the Khedive to the victorious English army, he bore his share of entertaining in return.

¹ "Ardagh worked with great energy and skill all night, and greatly helped to minimise the destruction caused by the fire."—Note by Lord Grenfell.

² The Fourth Class of the Order of the Osmanieh and, later, the Khedive's bronze Star, were conferred on Major Ardagh.

"THE DORMITORY"

The early days of the British occupation of Egypt [writes Lord Grenfell], when I lived with General Dormer,¹ Colonel Ardagh, and Major Sandwith, were very interesting and pleasant ones. We were all hard-worked—they, responsible for the staff duties at Headquarters of the Army ; I with my brigade of Egyptian troops—and we hardly met till the days were done.

We occupied a fair-sized house in the Esbekieh quarter, which became known as "The Dormitory" and, as at that time Cairo society was very cosmopolitan, it was far more interesting than in later days, when the tourist has taken possession of the city. We gave many pleasant entertainments and received much hospitality. Ardagh was always interesting and well informed. He had studied the politics of the East and had a fund of knowledge at his disposal, which was a great advantage to us, his companions.

Greatly interested in astronomy, he established a small observatory on the roof of our house. He was largely employed in making surveys and correcting the latitudes and longitudes of various important points in the Delta, some of which he discovered to be entirely inaccurate, and I believe

¹ General the Hon. James Charlemagne Dormer, son of the eleventh Lord Dormer, afterwards Sir James Dormer, K.C.B., but familiarly known as "General Jim." He died in India from the effects of wounds received from a tiger, which he had partially disabled, and which he had followed up on foot. It was on an adventure of his that the well-known story related in "Alan Quatermain," by Rider Haggard, is founded. In an interview with some vainglorious warriors, boasting of what their Mahdi could do, he suddenly removed his glass eye, threw it up, caught it, and restored it to its place, asking whether their leader could do the like ? The Mahdists were obliged to admit that he could not.

his reading was adopted, proving of the greatest value.

I had known him for many years before '82 and at one time did some intelligence work for him in Rome, so I looked upon him as one of my earliest friends and comrades. I greatly valued his friendship and companionship. His was a charming character. He was a perfect encyclopedia of knowledge, and was always ready to impart his information. His kindness of heart and quiet, modest manner, combined with the most soldier-like qualities, made him a useful, pleasant and lovable associate.

CAIRO, *Jan. 1, 1883.*¹

We, that is, the four officers of the Headquarter Staff, Dormer, Grenfell, Sandwith and myself, live together in a charming house and entertain our friends therein. . . . Our ball is over—very lovely and a great success. Veils and masks were retained till midnight. Lady Dufferin turned out a most beautiful Queen of Night and Lady Helen Blackwood nearly as good a Maid of Athens. The Miss Alisons were dressed in real Arab costume by Princess Nazli and looked very well. Dormer made a capital Sheik in long, flowing robes, Grenfell a Mollah, Sandwith an Egyptian soldier and I was a Syrian with baggy trousers and a tight jacket, sash and turban. We screened off one room with thick lace-curtains for the ladies of the harems, Princesses Nazli, Fatima, Mansur, etc., etc., and they looked on and declared themselves delighted.

Cairo is gay enough and, with the exception of the soldiers who have not yet recovered, very healthy. I can't think why people don't come out here for the winter in greater numbers.

¹ From Lieut.-Colonel Ardagh to Miss Wynne Roberts, now Mrs. Ernest Hills. He had received his Brevet Lieut.-Colonelcy in November, 1882.

We cannot tell how long we may stay here. My own idea is that the link which now exists between England and Egypt should never be broken. I advocated taking Egypt in 1870, in 1876, and 1878, and at last my wish is realised; but, with a Government in power which can always give fifty good reasons for doing nothing, I have no great hope for the future.

Colonel Ardagh remained in Cairo till April, at which time he made a trip to Jerusalem, which he had previously visited in 1876. I will only quote his comments on what he considered the gross impositions practised on pilgrims who came to view the scene of the last days of the holy tragedy :

The houses of Herod and Caiaphas, the place where Christ fell, where the Cyrenean assisted him, where Veronica wiped His face, etc., are all minutely pointed out ; and the place where the cross stood, as well as the tomb, besides other sites of less consequence, are concentrated—with more regard to convenience than probability—within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is an insult to common sense to pretend that either the sites of the Crucifixion or the Entombment palmed off on pilgrims, accord with the descriptions in the New Testament. The Crucifixion probably took place on the hill outside the Damascus Gate and the tomb was probably also outside the city in this direction. The Mount of Olives preserves its name and is indeed the most certain site which can be identified. The Garden of Gethsemane is a probable position, but it has lost all interest from modern tawdry superstitious decorations. Bethlehem, at least, is a well-authenticated site, though the details may be questionable.

At Jerusalem Colonel Ardagh found his old friend General Gordon, who had been governor of the Equatorial Province of the Sudan from 1874 to 1877, and Governor-General of the entire Sudan, including the Red Sea Provinces and Harrar, from 1877 to 1879. He resigned because after the deposition of the Khedive Ismail and the appointment of Tewfik as Khedive in 1879, he could get no support from Cairo for his efforts in improving the condition of the Sudan. He went to Palestine in 1882 to see Jerusalem and the scenes of Bible history. He was evidently still thinking a good deal about the Turkish question, as he wrote at this time (April 1883) a letter to Major Ardagh, from which I quote the following hitherto unfulfilled prophecy :

I send you the forecast for 1886. *Nothing* can possibly avert it. Austria receives Salonika and Russia carte blanche. For my part, I shall be glad to see it. If we will not take responsibilities ourselves, I am glad, for people's sakes, to see others do so, and I have a greater dislike to patent-leathered booted Circassians and Turks than I have for Russians.

Of course there will be *going to war either with or without allies*, etc., etc., but that trumpet sound has been heard before. From Aleppo the Russians will move Bagdad way, and throughout their march will have the sympathy of all the Nomad tribes, who are allies of the invader, whoever he may be.

To this letter was annexed a sketch-map, indicating the probable advance of the Russians.

In 1884 General Gordon was offered an appointment in the Congo under the King of the Belgians and had actually accepted it when his services were required in the Sudan. He obtained permission to break his engagement with the King of the Belgians, travelled to London, received his instructions and returned to Cairo on January 24, 1884. On January 26, 1885, he met his death, an event which was received by the English people with deep and lasting rage and shame, and by the English army with those feelings of dull despair which arise from warnings unheeded, disaster foretold and comrades needlessly sacrificed.

To return to the subject of this memoir: Colonel Ardagh was back at Cairo in a fortnight's time and remained there till the middle of July, when he got leave till September 10. But cholera had broken out at Damietta and rapidly spread to Port Said, Mansura and other places. Quarantine was imposed on vessels coming from Egypt; he therefore travelled to Suez and took the P. and O. line, proceeding down the Canal to Port Said, where he exchanged into the *Ganges*, bound direct to Plymouth, which she reached on July 24.

Alas for Colonel Ardagh's hopes of a holiday! At Plymouth the news had been telegraphed that cholera had broken out at Cairo and he felt it his duty to go back as soon as possible.

Writing from Sussex Gardens, the house of his

old friend of Brighton days, to whom he had always been a beloved son, he says :

July 24, 1883.

I arrived here last night. At Plymouth I heard of the outbreak of cholera at Cairo and at once made up my mind to offer to go back as soon as possible. To-day I have spent in official—perhaps I should say friendly—visits at the War Office and Horse Guards, and the upshot is that Lord Wolseley takes the same view. “Finish your business,” he said, “and get back.” Apart from any other consideration, it is most annoying and aggravating to take a long and expensive journey and at the end of it to find that the time has been wasted. However, no doubt exists in my mind as to what I ought to do and, as soon as I can finish the few necessary interviews I have to make, I start again, probably before the end of the week, for Cairo. The accounts are very bad already and will be worse, for the action of the Prefect of Police at Cairo seems to have disseminated disease all over the city and I have long wondered that it is not preyed upon by a perennial pestilence, so suitable are the conditions. For some weeks before I left there seemed a fair prospect of localising the epidemic. Otherwise I should not have come home, but now it is evident that the whole of Egypt is in for it, and that there must be a process, at least, of decimation before it subsides. Several cases have occurred among the troops, who have already been scattered, as far as possible, in well-chosen localities. Cholera is, however, very captious in its incidence and, although the precautions we have taken will do much to minimise the liability to its spread among the soldiers, experience has shown that no immunity is to be hoped for on that score. I must

entirely give up all hope of seeing my friends or of having any pleasure.

On July 31 Colonel Ardagh therefore left for Marseilles and reached Cairo on August 9.

The events of the next few weeks fulfilled his anticipations only too well, and he took his full share in the hard work which had to be done before the cholera epidemic could in any way be controlled. The horribly neglected condition of the prisons and hospitals, to say nothing of private dwelling-houses, under which the dead were commonly buried, the filthy state of the streets and the absence of any public system of sanitation, together with the deeply ingrained prejudices of religion and the equally obstructive opposition offered by those whose interest it was to maintain the *status quo* of ignorance and inefficiency, made the task of the pioneers of civilised methods a specially heavy one. It was also one in which personal exposure to infection in tending the sick and burying the dead, as an example of courage, became an imperative necessity.¹

Though Colonel Ardagh was absent a good deal from Cairo, engaged in carrying out an extensive survey and correcting former mistakes, he devoted himself, when in the city, to helping those to whom the duty of sanitary visits and action connected with the epidemic was entrusted. His

¹ The total number of deaths from cholera at Cairo up to August 24, 1883, are given by the Conseil Sanitaire d'Égypte as 5,664, of which 37 occurred in the English army.

advice was considered most useful and his proposals were received and acted upon by the Cholera Committee, of which Sir Francis Grenfell was an active and devoted member.

Shortly after this, Colonel Ardagh wrote to his friend, Miss Wynne Roberts, as follows :

I am not very often in Cairo now, as I have embarked on a Dahabieh and am engaged in surveying. It is hard and lonely work and not very popular with any of us as a recreation ; but I want to get it done and feel that if I don't do it no one else will. We are very dull in Cairo in comparison with last year. Cholera and the Mahdi have frightened away many visitors and there is no opera. Nevertheless there is a good deal going on in the way of quiet society and we are getting up a fancy ball. I still live with Dormer and Grenfell and we have a good many little dinner-parties.

I wonder what your idea of an Egyptian Queen is ? There are three queens in the Bulak Museum, who, Grenfell and I think, must have been very attractive about five thousand years ago. One of them has a bright green complexion and another brilliant vermilion, but they are very coquettish withal. The great procession of the return of the Holy Carpet from Mecca took place this morning in the presence of the Khedive and all his ministers, who, by the way, have just resigned. The English Press treats the Khedive very badly. He has always done as we told him, and it is unfair to abuse him. We have much to answer for in Egypt. The vacillating policy of our Government is ruinous to the country.

By this time the black clouds which had long been gathering in the Sudan were already be-

ginning to burst. Early in November of the previous year the Egyptian troops going to relieve Tokar had been defeated and Hicks Pasha and his army had been annihilated. General Gordon had left Cairo for Khartum on January 26, 1884. His memorandum respecting the condition of the Sudan and his map of the area of rebellion, received on the same day as the news of Baker Pasha's disaster, February 4, did not even then fully reveal the gravity of the situation. On the 8th Tewfik Bey, Governor of Suakin, was cut to pieces with his whole force, in attempting to fight his way from Sinkat to the coast.

CHAPTER XII

EASTERN SUDAN EXPEDITION

1884

The Expedition starts—Battle of El Teb—Battle of Tamai—Review of the situation—Occupation of Handub—Osman Digna—March on Tambuk—March on Tamanib—Suakin—Berber Route.

CAIRO, *February* 12, 1884, 11 p.m.—Orders received by telegraph to despatch a small force for the relief of the garrison of Tokar, attempted by the Egyptians on February 4, when the rebel Arabs killed 2,250 out of Baker Pasha's force of 4,000 at El Teb, near Trinkitat.

Admiral Hewitt reported the survivors of Baker Pasha's force completely out of hand and recommended their withdrawal. A few Anglo-Egyptian officers have already gone to Suakin to organise some mounted infantry. No confidence is placed in the rank and file of the Egyptian force under Baker, composed as it is of the most wretched material.

Midnight conference between General Stephenson and General Dormer to arrange details of expedition.

A force of about 4,000 men was ordered to be in readiness to proceed to Suakin, under Major-General Sir Gerald Graham, V.C., K.C.B. ; Colonel H. Stewart, C.B., A.D.C., to command the cavalry, and Sir Redvers Buller, V.C., K.C.M.G., A.D.C., the infantry brigades. At 5 p.m. I was warned to take up the appointment of Chief of the Intelli-

gence branch. Captain Slade, R.A. (Lieutenant-Colonel on the staff of the Egyptian Army), and Major Schoefer (Egyptian Suppression of Slave Trade Department), to form Staff of Intelligence Department.

Thursday, February 14.—I was ordered to become Commanding Royal Engineer of the Expedition, as well as Chief of the Intelligence Department and Captain Green (Brigade-Major R.E.) was attached to me.

February 15.—Left Cairo at 8 a.m. in train with Black Watch, detachment R.E., and details. Arrived at Suez at 4.30. Embarked about 1,300 officers and men and 100 horses on board the *Orontes*, where we found the Marines. They comprise detachments from the Mediterranean fleet.

The *Orontes* left Suez dock at 11.20 a.m., on the 16th, bound for Suakin, which she reached at noon on the 19th. Here we received orders to proceed to Trinkitat and anchored off there at sunset, being the first ship of the military expedition to arrive.

February 17, Sunday.—I bought a horse from Colonel Parr to make up my number when ordered to embark, and have taken my Cyprus animal. Country-bred horses stand the climate far better than English horses. The latter get fever and become roarers, and suffer from sand-colic when picketed in the desert, as they lick up and swallow a quantity of sand with the grain which falls.

February 20.—Reconnoitred country from tops of *Carysfort*, which had anchored in Trinkitat harbour, and made sketch of the adjacent country.

February 21.—Landed working parties of the Royal Engineers, Blue-jackets and Marines, and commenced the construction of landing-piers with scratch materials. The construction of landing-stages, arrangements for condensing, storing and transporting water, improvement of defences of base and construction of road across

the marsh which separates us from the mainland, gave full occupation to the Engineers.

Having written a full official diary of our movements from the landing at Trinkitat to our return to Suakin, my private diary has been neglected.

BATTLE OF EL TEB

On the afternoon of February 28 we marched from Trinkitat across the swamp to Fort Baker, and there bivouacked.

On the morning of February 29 the whole force marched past the right of the Arab entrenchments at El Teb, and then changed direction to the left, in a large square. As soon as we got near the position of the Arabs, they charged out on us in dense masses. We advanced slowly, firing all the time, and killed great numbers of the enemy. Their guns caused us some loss, but were soon taken. A grape-shot struck Baker Pasha in the jaw as he was talking to Wood¹ and lodged inside

¹ Major Wood, R.E., says: "We were talking together about the operations when Baker Pasha suddenly clapped his hand to his face and, as he had involuntarily twitched the bridle, his horse spun completely round; yet Baker never moved in his saddle, and in an instant was sitting erect, facing the enemy's guns. I thought he had been struck by a pebble from the ground as the shot were falling short; so, when he quietly rode to the ambulance in the middle of the square I did not go with him. In a few moments Baker came back with his cheek strapped up and we continued our discussion. It is marvellous that he was not knocked out of his saddle, for the shot, which had lodged in his palate, weighed 2½ oz.

"The illustration (Battle of Tamai, Second position of the Square) shows Davis's re-formed brigade to the left. The four mounted officers must be Graham, Davis and their Staff. The ravine in the centre is a small *khov* running out of the main *khov*, in which the enemy lay concealed and so came in unexpectedly on the right. I saw the enemy pouring out of this depression. Buller's brigade is to the right. The enemy retreated into the hills towards the right front for Tamanib."

his head, causing a horrid wound. The cheek was so torn that the doctor strapped it over without perceiving that the shot was still there and it was not extracted till the following day. He rode back to Trinkitat with the shot in his head. Poor Montague Slade, 10th Hussars, was killed in the cavalry charge. His brother, who was attached to me, recovered his body. Major Green, R.E., was wounded and one sapper killed. We lost, in all, 34 killed and 155 wounded, out of about 3,500. The number of Arabs was difficult to estimate, but may have been from 6,000 to 7,000 immediately opposed to us.

We buried 2,100 of them, irrespective of those killed by cavalry.¹

On March 1 we advanced to Tokar, which the Arabs evacuated on the appearance of our scouts. I was entrusted with the evacuation of the Egyptians we found there and sent them off, like the Israelites, with their wives and children and all they had, to Trinkitat.

On March 4 we returned to Trinkitat. On the way I visited the scene of the former battles at El Teb. The corpses of Baker's force, just a month old, were heaped together in enormous piles: 2,400 men were here slain by the Arabs, and anything more horrible it is difficult to conceive. Great numbers of the dead were mutilated² in a disgusting way, and the odour was sickening.

¹ Osman Digna's orders to his followers were: Never to count the dead, for they were in Paradise with houris.

Major Wingate, R.A., D.S.O. (now Sir Reginald Wingate, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Sirdar of the Egyptian Army), gives the number killed as 2,340. See his Chronological Index of Events in the Sudan. The evening before this action Colonel Ardagh and five other officers attached to the Intelligence Branch, as well as Slade, dined together. The casualties in the little party next day were: one killed; Baker, Burnaby, and Green wounded, and another's horse shot.

² As a mark of contempt for cowards.

We re-embarked on March 5, proceeded to Suakin, landed, and encamped on the point to the south of the harbour. I ascertained that the Arabs on this side were concentrated at Tamai, and we decided to attack them there.

THE OPERATIONS AGAINST OSMAN DIGNA NEAR SUAKIN

Battle of Tamai

On the evening of March 11 the whole force moved from camp near Suakin to the zareba constructed by Baker Pasha nine miles in a south-westerly direction. (A zareba is an enclosure made of bushes of prickly mimosa. Against naked men it is an almost insuperable barrier, though affording no protection against firearms. It is the customary method of protecting encampments in the Sudan.)

Next morning General Graham sent me to reconnoitre the position of the enemy with about eighty mounted infantry under Humphreys, and the Abyssinians, thirty-five in number, under Wylde.

We soon saw camels and horsemen on our left front and, as we moved forward, they advanced too and small groups of men began to appear on the left. There was a hill, six miles to the front, from which a good view could be obtained, and I went straight for this, covering the left flank with a party. When we approached the enemy's scouts were on the hill, but they were driven off by a party under Lieutenant Marling. A few shots were fired and on "cease firing" being sounded, a long line of Arabs suddenly sprang up from behind a ridge, about a mile to the left, rather in rear of us. I estimated their numbers at from 4,000 to 6,000, and sent Slade back at once to

General Graham to report. Returning with the reconnaissance party, when we reached the zareba the whole force was on the move forward. The direction was given to the left of the hill, tolerably straight on the enemy's position. It was very hot and the men marched very slowly. Sir Gerald Graham reconnoitred from the top of the hill I have mentioned, and at first intended to attack immediately. The enemy, however, were no longer in the same position as the morning, but in and beyond a ravine a mile further to the south. On arriving at their first position, the order was given to bivouac there for the night. A square was formed and a zareba was constructed round it. Everything was quiet until half-past ten, when shots began on the front, right and left. We could not see where they came from and did not reply. This fire, at the rate of thirty to sixty shots a minute, continued the whole night through, till dawn. Happily the Arabs fired high and the greater number of the shots went over, but some kept dropping inside and the whistle of bullets was continuous. Once there was a shout, as though they meant to come on, and we all stood to arms. It was a most disagreeable night and very few could have slept. The casualties were small—two men killed and a few animals. At dawn it ceased. The order to attack was issued, the idea being to move General Davis's brigade on the left across the ravine (or *khôr*, as all such formations are called here), with General Buller's brigade on the right thrown back a little, then turn to the right and sweep up both sides of the ravine. Davis's brigade had hardly finished filling its water-bottles when it was ordered to fall in and was at once marched off. I rode in front to give the direction and as soon as I came near the edge of the *khôr* I began to see hordes of Arabs concealed on the slopes and filling the wide flat bottom

of it, completely under cover. General Graham gave the order to charge. They had not more than 200 yards to go before coming on to the ravine, when a few of the enemy had popped up and disappeared. The front was formed of half each of the 42nd and the 65th, the other wings forming sides and the marines the rear. The front line charged, cheering, and got away from the rest of the square, but there was nobody visible close, and not many on the opposite side. The Gatlings and Gardners were brought into action against these distant bodies and fire was opened on them. After a minute or two the smoke became thick, there being no wind, and the main body of the enemy which had been concealed on the near slope of the *khôr*, jumped up and rushed towards the left brigade, which was considerably in advance of the right. They came quite close before they could be seen and as the 42nd¹ had gone forward a little quicker than the 65th, there was a gap between them through which the Arabs rushed. They killed a great number of the supernumerary rank of the 42nd, got inside the square in large numbers and drove back the front face. Eventually all the Arabs who had got in were killed, but it was a *mêlée* in which it was dangerous even to let off a revolver; I put back mine in my belt and trusted to sword alone. For a few minutes it was very unpleasant. The Marines had been ordered to come up on the right, but they moved very slowly; after a little they halted. Sir George Graham himself was left outside in front, and the staff-officers who endeavoured to rally the men were for some time unsuccessful.

The battalion of Marines was made up of small

¹ The 42nd having received the order to charge, responded only too readily. The inevitable result was that the square was broken.



Davis's Re-formed Brigade.

Buller's Brigade.

BATTLE OF TAMAI, MARCH 13, 1884.
Second position of the Square.

parties taken from the different ships. The number of officers also was altogether insufficient.

The worst of this check was that the Gatlings and Gardners were left behind. Three naval officers and a number of men of the gun's crews were killed.¹ The 42nd lost 65 men killed and the 65th and Marines rather less. The enemy lost at the rate of ten to one, the whole ground being thickly strewn with them.

By this time Buller's brigade had also come into action, to the right, on the edge of the ravine. It was in close formation, was very steady and lost very slightly. Holley's 9-pounder guns were outside the square, firing to the west, when "cease fire" sounded. I then saw a young Arab start up and rush at one of the guns quite alone. There was a cry of "don't fire"—a very idiotic one, for the fellow meant business. A shot or two were fired, which missed him, and he went straight at the gunners. One of them went forward, rammer in hand, to meet him and swinging it well round, dashed his brains out.

Davis's brigade was now re-formed on the edge of the slope. The Gatlings and Gardners were recovered; but one limber had been set on fire and went on crackling for an hour or more. We were ready for another move when a few Arabs crept up between the Marines and Buller's brigade, and the Marines fired towards them right into the left face of Buller's square, killing a couple of men and Shoefer's horse. Buller rode across and used some very vigorous language indeed.

The whole thing was decided now and we waited for reserve ammunition before moving on. After filling up with reserve ammunition, Buller's

¹ The Naval Brigade stood gallantly by the guns, which they were able to lock, thus rendering them useless for the time to the enemy.

square moved across the ravine (*Khor Ghuob*) and, after passing some rough rocky knolls on the other side, reached the locality which had just been evacuated by Osman's people in half an hour. *Tamai*, which gives its name to the battle, consists of a series of little flat sandy basins lying among the rocky hills. In these basins there were tents and grass huts, made more as a shelter against the sun than anything else, so flimsy as to be hardly even a shade. We burnt the tents and a few of the huts and moved back to the water which lay in the *Khor Ghuob* in two running streams, which originated and disappeared again in the sandy bottom. It was for this water that the Arabs had been fighting. After watering, we halted for dinners on the high ground to the west of the battle-field. I learned here that my draughtsman, Sapper Moffat, 17th Company R.E., had been killed a few minutes before on his way from the second zareba. The poor fellow had left the baggage-train, probably to pick up spears and arms, when an Arab who had been shamming dead sprang up and jumped on his back and in a moment nearly cut off his head. The Arab was killed immediately. Poor Moffat was an excellent draughtsman and I was just about to make him a corporal. He was quiet and popular and I miss him very much.

In the afternoon we marched back to our zareba of the previous night, which the Sappers and Pioneers laboured hard to improve. General Graham at first intended to have some outlying posts, but it was so late that their construction was not carried out.

We slept that night in peace, undisturbed by the whizzing of bullets. Next day the troops were marched down to the *khov* to water and dine. Mounted infantry covered us on the south and west of the village. There was a little distant

fire, but no casualties. A gun-carriage and a large store of ammunition and a good many rifles were found in the largest group of huts, one of which was the abode of Osman. We set fire to everything and made a clean sweep of the village.

The explosions of the gun-ammunition echoed through the hills. After dinner we rode back to the second zareba, which by that time had been evacuated, with the exception of a few trusses of hay, and on to the first zareba, where the wounded had been carried in the morning by fatigue parties of Blue-jackets, who worked like Trojans; thence on to Suakin. There was a scare at No. 1 zareba during the night. A man had a nightmare and shouted out, alarming many into the idea that the enemy were upon them.

Next day, Saturday, the 13th, the whole of the wounded were brought down to Suakin and embarked on the *Jumna* for conveyance to Suez. The stores and rear-guard were then withdrawn and all the force was reassembled in camp at Suakin, rather exhausted with marching and fighting in a hot sun and with a scanty water-supply. Our water-bottles are not nearly large enough to satisfy a thirsty man in the tropics.

Our dead, about 110 in number, were buried in a large trench near No. 2 zareba, and it is to be hoped that their rest may not be disturbed. The enemy lost about 2,500 dead and 500 to 1,000 wounded. During the night some had been buried and some bodies had been carried off. I estimate the number who fought us at 10,000, but reports vary between 8,000 and 22,000; the former figure, I believe, is nearer the mark. Three sheiks of distinction were killed and a number of minor ones.

The troops seem to have little interest in the war. The valour of the enemy, as compared

with Egyptians, and the want of a clear understanding of what they are fighting for, tends to raise sympathy for the Arabs, and physical fatigue, combined with scanty water-supply, is a cause of depression.

I myself attribute the unsteadiness of the men to the entire absence of any efficient means of enforcing obedience to orders. In all other armies but ours officers are required to shoot or cut down those who refuse to obey orders in action, and this is a power which we must sooner or later resort to ; the sooner the better. The whole army says it is only fighting to bolster up an unpopular Government in a mess of their own making, and they ask why, if the Sudan is to be given up, are they to re-conquer it ? Why, if the Mahdi is recognised by Gordon in Khartum, are they to fight his lieutenant here ? In short, they are much perplexed, as well they may be.

My own views, from the end of the war in 1882, have been unchanged. Let the English take Suakin and sit tight, hammering every one who makes a show of resistance, until the road to Berber is quiet. We have ruined the country and tenfold increased the difficulties by blurting out that the Sudan was to be abandoned. Of course the people began to worship the rising sun, and as long as we continue this idiotic policy, so long shall we have trouble. The religious character of the rebellion, too, is a very important factor, and one which the efforts of Sheikh Morgani have been utterly ineffectual to control. Many of the rebels say that it is not for the redress of wrongs that they are fighting, but for the holy cause of the true Messiah against the infidels, among whom they class Turks and Egyptians, whom they account even worse than Christians. Our present object should be to open the Berber road, but that will take time, and with delay

comes the summer, which our troops cannot stand. It will, I conceive, be necessary to keep an Indian brigade at Suakin for some time and this necessity must be faced. The British troops ought not to be left here during the hot weather, and they cannot be withdrawn without being replaced, or without the certainty that the rebels will gain ground.

There is now no place where a blow can be struck. Even El Teb and Tamai are mere geographical localities, where there were fortuitous assemblages of the enemy. Tamanib, whither they have now retired, is too mountainous for our troops and we have yet to learn that a stand would be made there.

After our return to camp at Suakin, the troops reposed for a few days, and a cavalry reconnaissance was made to Handub, the first stage on the Berber road, twelve and a half miles from Suakin, across a level plain with scattered mimosa bushes. A few shallow wells dug in the gravelly bottom of a *khov*, or dry river bed, always exist here, but an unlimited supply of water can be had by digging others into the copiously supplied stratum of saturation which commences at three feet below the surface. This is no doubt the case at all the watering stations of similar character in the district. General Stewart, with 75 Mounted Infantry and the 10th Hussars, occupied Handub and formed a zareba there, enclosing the summit of a small detached feature (from which heliographic communication could be kept up with Suakin) within its enceinte.

There were a few Arabs at the wells, who were easily assured of our friendly disposition, and who came in to the zareba for greater security. Mahmoud Ali Bey and a number of his followers also took up their residence there, at our suggestion, with a view of inducing the wavering tribes to

come in. On the 29th two sheikhs and seventeen men presented themselves to make submission. One of these was Mohammed Shankaray of the Sennar tribe, one of those who had signed the bellicose letter to the Admiral and General, the other Khadr Abdullah of the Amara tribe.

We heard from spies that Osman had sent to Tokar to procure corn; and on the 21st the 10th Hussars were sent to try to pick up the convoy, but were not able to find any trace of it. These demonstrations to Handub on one side and towards Tokar on the other have a very salutary effect in confirming our power in the neighbourhood. On March 22 a party of pilgrims on their way from Central Africa reported the road from Berber quiet. They had been at Khartum, where Gordon then was, and where they said that tranquillity prevailed.

My spies have much improved and now bring very precise information, knowing the sort of questions they have to answer. They can recount the names of the chiefs, the districts they come from, their personal peculiarities and the number of their followers, with as much system as "the catalogue of the ships" in Homer.

Osman¹ himself differs but little in dress from the others. He has a large fair beard with a few grey hairs, and wears the usual dirty cotton shirt, distinguished only by a little silk embroidery on the frill and sleeves, a small dervish's cap (no longer the turban he used to wear at Suakin), and sandals (which, by the way, are characteristic of the country and resemble those depicted in the dress of the Roman soldier—a thick sole of hide, with an ingenious arrangement of thongs needing no

¹ An officer of Engineers, Lieutenant Graham Thompson, was spoken of among working parties of Arabs employed under him at Suakin as "Osman Digna," because of his fair beard. (Note by Major-General Sir Elliott Wood, R.E.)

lacing). Osman was wounded by a bullet in the right arm at Sinkat and can only use the limb with difficulty. He carries a spear in his left hand, and a dagger—no shield or firearms. He is very thin, but strong. The spear he usually keeps under his knee as he sits on the ground. When reading or speaking he often starts and glances nervously around (as indeed a man for whom, dead or alive, a thousand dollars have been offered, might reasonably be expected to do). I believe the reward would have been a sufficient inducement. Personally, I should have offered five thousand for his capture and said nothing about the condition he was delivered in, so important do I consider it to “remove” him. This sentimental delicacy of the British public may end in making another war necessary. If Exeter Hall objects to having him *dead*, it surely ought not to object to offering a reward for him *alive*. The withdrawal of the reward in the terms prescribed has also had the very evil effect of making the people distrust our promises.

Osman, who looked on at the battle of Tamai from a respectful distance, was evidently disappointed in his expectations, for he and all the eminent sheikhs were finally obliged to leave without packing up their things. Of the 10,000 or 12,000 who were with him on that day there remained, when he mustered at Tamanib a couple of days afterwards, less than 500, beside the wounded, the women and the children. The greater number of the survivors had had enough of the English and never want to meet them again. Those who were of this opinion disappeared, many of them carrying off their wounded to their own country. Very exaggerated accounts of the destructive character of the English fire were given by some who had fought against us, but the general impression seemed to be that it was

irresistible. None who went forward returned to tell the tale. Osman still repeats his promise that the bullets of the English shall turn to water, but no longer is it believed. "If," said Madani, a sheikh of the Shayab tribe, "you are so confident in your Mahdi, then go down yourself with your own people to the wells at Suakin, and fight the Christians there. If their bullets really turn to water, we may then believe you." Nor do they believe any more in the virtues of the Mahdi's uniform which was to confer immunity on the wearers. Many of these dresses, which had blue facings, were observed on the killed, both at Teb and at Tamai. The widows of the slain inveigh against Osman as the cause of their woe, and the wives of the living are against further fighting.¹

On March 23 the march on Tambuk was commenced by the 75th from Handub, forming a zareba (No. 4), about ten miles from Suakin. Major Chermiside arrived in a capacity which was half political and half military, and was ordered to take charge of the negotiations relative to the opening of the Berber road. Having put him in possession of all that had occurred, I suggested his going to Handub, where Mahmoud Ali Bey and El Morgani had already established themselves, and he went off to-day.

Major Wood, who had been at Handub, and who had reconnoitred the road as far as Otao and Tambuk, returned to-day, leaving Colville to represent the Intelligence Department at Handub. A section of the Shayab tribe, who inhabit Darur on the coast, about 40 miles north, came in to-day. I sent a message to their head sheikh, who is now between Langeb and Kassala, inviting him to come in.

¹ Many of the women were armed with spears and hatchets, and fought bravely. Some were wounded.

Sheikh Mahmoud Ali has raised about 100 of his followers to co-operate with us on our next advance against Osman. They are to wear strips of red as a distinguishing mark.

Letters were sent by the Sheikh Morgani to the sheikhs on the Berber road on the 23rd.¹ It will take at least eight days to get answers. I called back Chermside on the 24th to take charge of his native contingent, and at 2 p.m. on the 25th the whole force in camp at Suakin less guards and details, marched for No. 4 zareba. It was exceedingly hot and many men fell out, but only temporarily. Chermside's natives also marched out. They had about half a dozen Remington rifles, 80 spears, 20 swords, the rest sticks and every man a curved dagger. They marched without any sort of order and exactly resembled our enemies.

On the 26th the cavalry were sent on to reconnoitre; the infantry, etc., followed leisurely. Slade and two guides went on with the cavalry. I kept the other two with headquarters.

For about four miles beyond Zareba 4 the plain continued, much about the same as near Suakin. Scattered mimosa bushes and scant herbage: then broken ground commenced. On the following day we marched to Tamanib, turned out the few Arabs we met and withdrew.

On April 3 we embarked for Suez, leaving the 3rd Battalion K.R.R. as garrison of Suakin. Herbert Stewart and I both reported the road to Berber as practicable, but H.M.'s Government did not allow the march to be undertaken.

In a note written later Colonel Ardagh says:

Berber was then in the hands of an Egyptian

¹ Most of these letters were taken by the sheikhs, who could neither read nor write, to Osman, who told them they were full of lies.

garrison and, had we gone across, the subsequent operations for the attempted relief of General Gordon at Khartum would not have been necessary.

Berber was the key of the Sudan, and the route thence to Suakin the short cut between Upper and Lower Egypt.

The want of water was thought by the authorities at home to be one of the chief objections to the march to Berber. It is true that the men had suffered tortures from thirst and I have been told by an officer of the 42nd Highlanders who was present at Tamai that their lips and tongues were cracked and bleeding and that in their sleep at night they cried out in their dreams for water, just as they might long for unobtainable beer on a hot day at home. Very little could be issued to the men and that little was muddy.

On the Suakin-Berber route there were, however, at that time, ten or twelve watering-places, at intervals varying from about twenty-five to fifty miles and capable of supplying the animals, only, of a large expedition. Rations of water, therefore, for the troops alone would have had to be carried, camels forming the sole transport. It was considered by officers acquainted with the locality that additional wells could be sunk, by which the water supply might be largely increased. The march to Berber was calculated to occupy thirty-three days.

On the Korosko-Abu-Hamed route there was

but one watering-place, and that furnishing brackish water. The whole of the water-supply for both troops and camels would have had to be carried.

Colonel Ardagh received the military C.B. for his services during the Eastern Sudan Expedition, and was mentioned in despatches on ten occasions during the time that he was employed in Egypt.

CHAPTER XIII

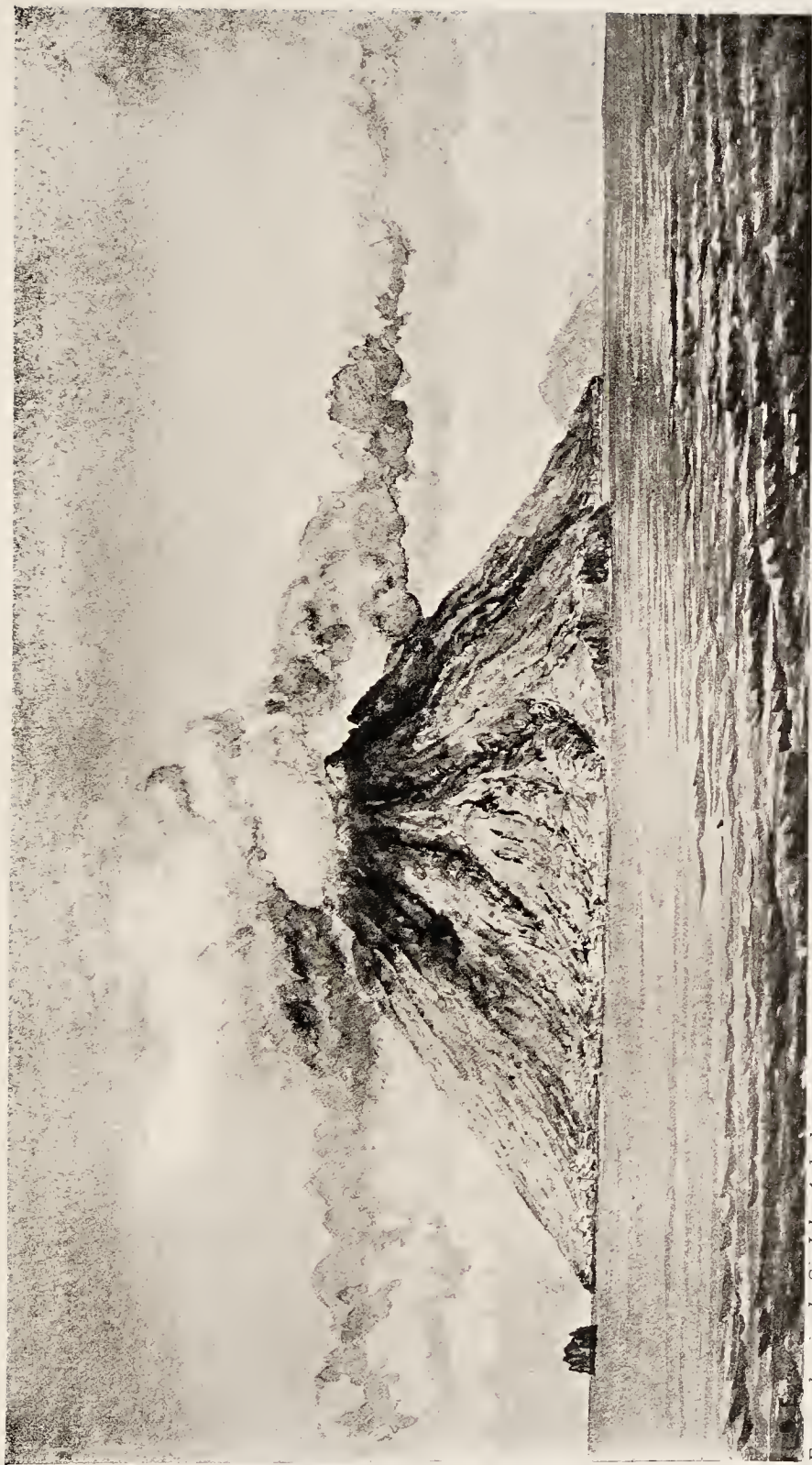
THE NILE EXPEDITION

1884-5

Selection of the route—Suakin-Berber Route—The Nile Expedition starts—A difficult post—Base of the Expedition—Postal arrangements—Fortunes of the Nile Expedition—Letters from the front.

IN May 1884 Colonel Ardagh returned to England to enjoy his leave, of which he had been deprived by the cholera epidemic in July of the previous year, and to see something of his many friends. His diary records an uninterrupted series of dinners up to the middle of August, a few short country visits, then his re-embarkation for Egypt and his arrival at Cairo on September 8.

Meanwhile, affairs in the Sudan had been taking a very unfavourable turn. Early in May Berber was invested by the rebels and on the 26th of that month had surrendered, thus occasioning the loss of a town in a good strategical position on the line of communication with General Gordon, which, two months earlier, might easily have been preserved, had the Government consented to the proposed march across to Berber while the road was yet free.



STROMBOLI IN ERUPTION, MAY 1884.

From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

P. 190]

The probable necessity for an expedition to relieve Khartum had already been in men's minds, and is indicated in the concluding paragraph of Colonel Ardagh's account of the march to Tambuk and the withdrawal of the English troops early in April. This probability had now grown to a certainty, and the question arose whether the English troops should follow the Suakin-Berber, the Korosko-Abu-Hamed, or the Nile route as far as Metemmeh, in attempting to reach General Gordon.

Lord Wolseley, Sir Frederick Stephenson, Colonel Sir A. Clarke, R.E., Colonel Ardagh and Colonel Chermside were all invited to furnish memoranda on the subject, and their opinions differed. On June 14 permission was given to begin the making of a railway from Suakin to Berber; but it proceeded slowly and the work was stopped by the end of August.

Considerable alarm was felt even in Cairo, and Colonel Ardagh received while in England a letter from a friend in that city showing the feeling which prevailed: ¹

CAIRO, *July 4th*, 1884.

I fear that, long before Lord Wolseley puts in an appearance, there will be no garrisons to relieve

¹ Princess Nazli Fazil. This lady is an Egyptian Princess of Turkish descent, the daughter of the late Prince Mustapha Fazil Pasha, son of General Ibrahim Pasha. This latter was the son of the great Mehemet Ali. Princess Nazli's husband was Khalil Chérif, Turkish Ambassador in Vienna and Paris. She is a lady of great intelligence, a good linguist and well calculated to report upon the situation.

or villagers to protect in Upper Egypt or Sudan. Debbah has fallen. After Ramazan we may expect to hear of a succession of similar falls and massacres.

On August 7 a sum of £300,000 was voted in Parliament in order to enable a relief expedition to be sent to Khartum and General Sir Frederick Stephenson was informed of the decision. He repeatedly urged the Government to sanction the adoption of the Suakin-Berber route, of which he was strongly in favour ;¹ but Lord Wolseley's plan

¹ Colonel Ardagh's opinion coincided with that of Sir Frederick Stephenson. In a letter dated October 15, 1884, written from the Palace, Malta, of which place he was then Governor, Sir Lintorn Simmons says :

We are all watching the movements in Egypt, which for the life of me I cannot understand, but I fear we shall be, as usual, too late. It seems to me that when the expedition gets to its advanced base at Dongola, it will be as far from relieving Gordon as if it were starting with the sea as a base at Suakin—but with the difference that the base will be very difficult to supply, and the communications to it from the sea very difficult—and as to the care and removal of the sick, it will be a very serious matter. It may be that your General intends, after capturing Berber, *viâ* the Nile, to open out the Berber-Suakin route, which I suspect would have been better and more speedily done direct from Suakin, with a demonstration up the Nile. Stewart's loss will be much felt by Gordon, who no doubt was endeavouring to open up a communication with the British for going up the Nile, and I am under great apprehensions that G. may be starved out and compelled to make some desperate venture rather than surrender. Nothing but a miracle of Providence can save him and those with him. The proper and only course our Government could have taken with any chance of relieving him would have been to declare the abandonment of their "abandonment" policy and their determination to establish a stable Government at Khartum, which would have induced some of the tribes to remain true to us or at any rate neutral. Until they do this, I can't believe that the expedition can be of any avail ; but it will add to the blood-guiltiness already resting on the Government's shoulders—especially for the slaughter in Graham's campaign, where they

for taking the Nile route was finally adopted, and under the circumstances the Government thought it best to place Lord Wolseley in command of the expedition. He arrived in Cairo on September 9, and on the 26th Colonel Ardagh, who had returned on the previous day, was appointed Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster-General and Commandant of the Base for the Nile Expedition,¹ which started on the 27th. Colonel Ardagh accompanied Lord Wolseley as far as Assiut.

As the Nile Expedition was starting, Colonel Ardagh presented each of the mounted infantry

fought so-called rebels who were no rebels at all, after the announcement of the abandonment of their country by Egypt, but were fighting for their rights, whether under Osman Digna or any other leader they might elect to follow. When I heard of the Camel Corps I thought that Wolseley must have intended using them on the Suakin-Berber route at least to occupy attention while he was moving from Dongola. Unless Gordon by his own resources clears the enemy away from the neighbourhood of Khartum, the expedition will not, I suppose, reach it before Christmas. If so, we shall never see Gordon again, and the expedition will return with its tail between its legs, unless a change of policy is declared. . . .

I deeply sympathise with General Stephenson and all you who have borne the brunt of the occupation.

We are getting into difficulties elsewhere. The Cape affairs are beginning to look uncomfortable, and we may require 20,000 men with hard fighting to settle them. Where they are to come from I cannot conceive. . . .

I have watched your career and successes with the greatest interest, and whatever happens, you have my sincerest wishes for your health and prosperity.

Ever yours most sincerely,

J. L. A. SIMMONS.

¹ A distinctly new departure was taken in the Nile Expedition in separating the command of the base from that of the line of communications, the sphere of the latter being south, and of the former north of Assiut. This arrangement worked satisfactorily. See "Official History of the Sudan Campaign," p. 87.

officers with a bottle of champagne, "to be drunk in Khartum." One of these officers, Major Snow, carefully preserved his bottle, and carrying it up with him when he accompanied Sir Herbert (now Lord) Kitchener, drank it fourteen years later in Khartum, as agreed.

On November 7 Colonel Ardagh wrote to a friend in England :

My present occupation is Commandant of the Base for the Nile Expedition. It is rather a delicate one in many ways, inasmuch as the arrival of Lord Wolseley and the flood of officers the latter brought out with him (to the disjuncting of all our noses here) produced a certain amount of bitterness between the old garrison and the new arrivals. I am the agent here for Lord Wolseley, and a sort of buffer between the Nile Expedition and the Army of Occupation, but, being on the best of terms with both Lord Wolseley and Sir Frederick Stephenson, everything goes on with perfect smoothness. Possibly that may have been the reason why I was selected for this delicate and onerous post. They telegraph to me from everywhere up the Nile for every conceivable want : battalions, blankets, coals, coffins, goggles, groceries, locomotives, robes of honour, camels and heaven knows what besides.

These telegrams keep dropping in at any time and generally require immediate attention, so I can hardly call my soul my own.

I have just established a sort of parcel post as far as Dongola, which will, I hope, be a great boon to the officers. Very few troops now remain to be sent up. I expect to get off the West Kent and Royal Irish in a few days, and then the Cameron Highlanders will be the last to go. We expect to

have an opera in Cairo for a couple of months, and I dare say a good many people will come out. There are already a great many grass widows here. Every one in Egypt is disgusted with the conduct of the British Government and the continued stupid mismanagement of foreign affairs.

The post of Commandant of Base was by no means a sinecure, as may be seen by the following résumé of Colonel Ardagh's official report made in July 1885, at the close of the expedition.

Cairo was the base of the Nile Expedition, and the correspondence, demands, etc., of the expedition were attended to in the office of the Commandant of the Base, who was the Principal Staff Officer for the Expedition at Cairo, and owing to its complex requirements, his duties became multifarious.

Beside the arrangements connected with ordinary English troops, there were Canadian voyageurs, Indian platelayers, Arab camel-drivers, Kroomen, civilian pilots and engineers, interpreters and others to be dealt with, paid, clothed, fed and transported to their homes. There were steamers and whale-boats, locomotives and rolling stock, rails and sleepers, lathes and machinery, coffins, umbrellas, flower seeds and all manner of miscellaneous articles to be furnished; and finally, a building yard had to be established for the construction of seventeen stern-wheelers.

There was a great strain on all the Army departments, particularly upon the Ordnance, Store and the Pay Departments. The latter had,

in addition to a great press of accounts, to provide and despatch up the Nile very large quantities of silver coins, chiefly Turkish Medjidiehs and Austrian Maria Theresas.

In March ten small stern-wheel steamers and one large one were ordered from John Elder & Co., to be sent out in sections, and it was decided to build them at Cairo, as there was not sufficient water below the barrage to float the lightest craft. For this reason it was impossible to establish a building yard at Alexandria, and Assiut was also out of the question on account of the absence there of skilled labour and appliances.

A branch was therefore made from the railway to the river at the so-called arsenal at Bulak (which was, in fact, a lumber-yard for condemned boats and machinery) and a low-level line was made along the foreshore to facilitate the moving of the sections of the steamers into position. Railway sleepers were utilised for constructing the cradles to support the hulls of the steamers.

The first train-load of material arrived on May 9, and on the 20th the first steamer was launched. Seventeen in all of these steamers were completed, at the rate of about two a week, having been put together solely under Colonel Ardagh's superintendence, with the assistance of skilled artisans. One of the little fleet was the *Victoria*, built by Elder & Co. for the National Aid Society.

Troops and stores were transmitted up the Nile

by rail as far as Assiut and from that point by means of steamers, barges and sailing-boats. Messrs. Cook's contract for this service was accepted up to the First Cataract on terms very advantageous to that firm, but a second contract entered into with them by the Government, the details of which were carefully revised by Colonel Ardagh, was based on far more economical principles.¹

The superintendence of whalers, of locomotive engines and of railway material formed also part of the duties of Colonel Ardagh. He had large barges specially fitted up for the transport of invalids, and the small steamer *Victoria* plied between Assiut and Assuan with the sick.

Towards the close of the expedition the invalids were sent direct to Alexandria for embarkation from Assiut.

The postal arrangements formed by no means a light portion of Colonel Ardagh's work, as hitherto the despatch of letters, etc., had ended at Assuan, and from thence southward a camel-post sufficed to carry the small correspondence which passed. But after the commencement of the Nile Expedition the weight of the weekly post was over one ton, of which the letters weighed only about 100 lb. As far as Halfa the weight was of little

¹ Colonel Ardagh was on leave in England when this contract was concluded ; he devoted his time to its revision and Sir Redvers Buller, in a letter to Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Stephenson dated November 1885, attributes this satisfactory result to the knowledge and exertions of the Commandant of the Base.

consequence, but beyond it the maintenance of the post necessitated the employment of a considerable number of camels, always much wanted for other purposes. An examination of the post showed that an inordinate number of daily papers formed the bulk of the printed matter, and restrictions were placed on the numbers forwarded. This appears to have arisen from the despatch by benevolent persons of all kinds of old journals,¹ with the kindly intention of relieving the dearth of newspapers which was felt at the beginning of the expedition. Under similar circumstances none but weekly or monthly publications should be sent. The National Aid Society furnished a large supply of newspapers and periodicals to the hospitals throughout the expedition.

Colonel Ardagh also organised a system of parcels delivery which was of great service at this time, in consequence of the delay and extravagant charges incidental to the clearance and delivery by private agents of parcels arriving in Egypt.

Colonel Ardagh's official report was subsequently published in full in "The Official History of the Sudan Campaign," Part I. p. 226. In forwarding this report to the Commander-in-Chief, both General Grenfell (Brigadier-General) and Sir Redvers Buller (Chief of the Staff) expressed themselves warmly in approval of Colonel Ardagh's services, the latter adding: "It is all too short,

¹ In spite of this experience, exactly the same thing took place at the beginning of the South African War.

and does not do full justice to the work he performed."

While Colonel Ardagh had been toiling at the base to satisfy the multifarious and sometimes mysterious¹ demands which reached him at all hours of the day and night, the fortunes of the Nile Expedition had been various. They are only too well known and I need therefore merely remind the reader that, by the first week in March 1885, Lord Wolseley and his army, after all their hard fighting, loss, privation and brilliant victories, had reassembled at Korti, where they had mustered on Christmas Day, 1884, on their way up to Khartum, baffled in the principal object which they had set themselves to accomplish.

During this time Colonel Ardagh received many letters from officers at the front thanking him for his strenuous exertions on their behalf, expressing their gratitude for the comforts supplied to them, and admiration of the way in which he had performed his difficult task.

From among these letters I select one from Brigadier-General Brackenbury,² which contains

¹ A letter from Lord Wolseley, written in a hurry and not so clearly as usual, puzzled the patient and harassed staff at the base considerably: it announced the expected arrival at Cairo of 2,000 white . . . which he had ordered from England and which he wished forwarded immediately. A telegram was sent asking for an explanation, and "umbrellas" proved to be the word. A consignment of these useful and homely articles duly reached Cairo and was forwarded with despatch up the Nile. Many cases of sunstroke had occurred in crossing the Bayuda Desert.

² Now General Sir Henry Brackenbury, P.C., G.C.B., K.C.S.I., R.A.


an interesting résumé of General Gordon's letter dated from Khartum, November 4, 1884, and received by Lord Wolseley on the 17th of the same month. I also quote a few lines from a characteristic note written to his old friend Colonel Ardagh by Lord Charles Beresford, and overflowing with natural boyish high spirits and genial enjoyment of life.


HALFA, *Tuesday, Nov. 18, '84.*

I think you would like to know what we have heard from Gordon, so I give you confidentially the purport of his letter of November 4. He sent down Stewart, Power and Herbin in the steamer which was wrecked, despairing, he says, of our coming. He thought it was safe and he sent with them F.O. cipher and Stewart's journal of events to date of departure, September 10. He has five steamers, with nine guns, at Metammeh. The Mahdi, with 20,000 men, is, he says, within 8 miles of Khartum, to the S., S.W., and E.—none to the North.

He says he can hold out with ease for 40 days—after that it will be difficult.

His last fight was on September 4. He was defeated and the square always broken. Since then he has had little fighting, and the Mahdi says he will not fight during Moharram.

 Sennaar is all well, and knows of our coming.

 Slaten Bey is with the Mahdi. The Mahdi says Lupton has surrendered. It is a long letter, a quaint mixture of the trivial with the grave. He even makes a joke, saying the nuns with the Mahdi have married Greeks—"Union of the Greek and Latin Churches."

Worseley, who was here for 18 hours and left last night, replied, telling him, in an ingeniously in-

vented cipher which Gordon will understand, that he will be with an army big enough to wipe the Mahdi and all his people off the earth at Ambukol on January 7. But it is a far cry from Ambukol to Khartum, and it will be difficult for Gordon to hold out after December 15.

I estimate we shall reach Khartum by February 28—not before.

Troops are really on the move now. Staffords, half Essex, half Cornwalls have gone on in whalers.

With luck we should start the last troops off from this by December 7, and concentrate at Ambukol by January 7.

We shall be very glad when the order for release from Halfa comes. We have been here over six weeks and a move will be very pleasant.

You have had a lot of hard work. It will be lessened when all the troops have left Halfa. It has been a great rest to our minds to know we had so trustworthy a man to look after our wants at the base; and it will continue to be so, for our troubles will only begin when we leave Ambukol.

Very sincerely yours,

H. BRACKENBURY.

KORTI, SUDAN, *March 12, '85.*

Here we are back again with our little column, having, as you will have heard, gone through a good deal of hardship and hard fighting. However, we all came in cheery and happy as possible. Send any of those dyspeptic old Tishbites who go to Cairo for the winter to walk across the Bayuda Desert, and I am quite sure they will soon get square from the dry air and the funk caused by the Arabs' attentions.

Your cheery old messmates, Grenfell and

Dormer, are here. The former . . . is well, cheery, and fit as usual. Dormer is camped in the desert, full of beans, going to have an Ascot Camel meeting. Says there is first-class shooting about his property. . . .

Good luck. Send us some more sweets if you can ; anyway send some for Dormer and me. We hanker after them.

Send me the latest maps of the Nile on linen. All mine have been lost in zarebas, or through the attentions of a contumacious enemy.

This letter is signed by a hieroglyphic representing a stout little dog with his tail in the air, which no doubt well represented Lord Charles's happy frame of mind.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SECOND NILE EXPEDITION

1885-1886

Check to the Khalifa—Preparing for the attack—Battle of Ginnis—A narrow escape—Pursuit of the enemy—Move down the Nile—Surveying the country—Shooting the First Cataract—Scylla and Charybdis—Safe at Assuan.

COLONEL ARDAGH received his Brevet-Colonelcy in June 1885. Later in the year he obtained leave and went to England for a few weeks to recruit after the hard work he had undergone.

He soon returned, however, to Cairo as Assistant-Adjutant and Quartermaster-General, and Senior Staff Officer under Sir Frederick Stephenson and took part in the Second Nile Expedition, of which he has left the following record :

SECOND NILE EXPEDITION

In November 1885, the followers of the Mahdi, under the orders of his successor, Abdullah Khalifa, carrying out the original intention of the prophet, Mahmoud Achmed,¹ advanced down the Nile and, after concentrating at Dongola, moved on towards the British advanced post at Kosheh

¹ El Mahdi, or the Slave of God. He died on June 22, 1885, poisoned, it is said, by a woman.

to the south of Akasheh and established themselves in the neighbourhood. Their first enterprise was to detach a force to cut the line of railway, which, commencing at Wady Halfa to the north of the second cataract, extends to Akasheh, a distance of about eighty miles. They pulled up about a mile of the line near Ambukol, held by about fifty men, under Lieutenant Ferrier, R.E., but were repulsed. Steps were taken to repair the line and the post was relieved by General Butler. Colonel Huyshe (Berkshire) was put in command of the posts along the railway by General Grenfell, who shifted his headquarters from Assuan to Halfa when these events began. Sir Frederick Stephenson decided to move with his personal staff and left for Assuan, whence he telegraphed to order me and Major Sclater to go up to Halfa.

We embarked on the 19th on the postal steamer Bulak, due to reach Assuan on the 23rd and stopping for the night purposely at the large towns as a security against possible attempts to loot the specie, which sometimes amounts to a considerable sum.

We arrived at Halfa on the morning of the 26th and found Sir Frederick Stephenson and his staff comfortably established on a dahabieh, where Sclater and I were most hospitably entertained, and we slept on an adjacent dahabieh, where Grenfell had been living.

On Sunday, December 27, 1885, Sir Frederick Stephenson and staff left by train at 9 a.m. for Akasheh, inspecting the posts along the railway on the way. Since the attack on Ambukol Wells Station and the tearing up of about a mile of the railway, no fresh enterprise has been undertaken. The constant passage of trains and patrols is a safeguard during the day, but at night the few posts scattered along the line, which is 87 miles

long, can only have a moral effect in deterring the enemy from acts of destruction.

At Akasheh they found General Grenfell encamped with some of the troops on the way up and on December 28 went up the Nile to Dal in a gig, accompanied by half a dozen whalers and two *nuggars*, to the foot of Dal Cataract. They marched thence by Sarkamatto to Ferkeh, where most of the fighting force had arrived. The dispositions for the attack were arranged here.

The troops at Ferkeh moved to Kosheh, General Grenfell being in command, with Colonel Ardagh as Assistant Adjutant-General.

Orders were issued at Kosheh for a movement on the next day, to commence at 5 a.m. All were delighted at resuming the offensive, and putting an end to the worry and annoyance caused by the firing at Kosheh.

BATTLE OF GINNIS

December 30.—The Nile from Amara flows in an easterly direction, passing the villages of Atab, Ginnis and Kosheh, and beyond the last-named village, at the fort of Kosheh, makes a sharp turn to the north past Mokrakeh fort and Akasheh. All these localities are on the east bank, the western bank being here very barren desert.

The state of affairs for the last month has been that the Cameron Highlanders have held the fort of Kosheh and Barrow's Egyptians a zareba, or fortified post, opposite. A desultory long-range fire was kept up by the Sudanese on these works, and casualties occurred daily. Lieutenant

Cameron, of the Cameron Highlanders, was killed, and Colonel Hunter,¹ of the Egyptian Army, badly wounded. An attack was made on the fort at Mokrakeh, but was repulsed by the Egyptian garrison, and the village of Ferkeh was looted. The Sudanese were known to be assembled along the river through the villages of Kosheh, Ginnis, and Atab, and there was reason to suppose they would fight near Ginnis. On the east bank the ground rises very gradually from the river, but its surface is broken by *nullahs*, or *khors*, into very irregular forms, affording a great deal of concealment. The general idea of the attack was to move a force parallel to the river and another perpendicular to it, sweeping along through the villages as the other outflanked them, while the front and left of the advance was covered by mounted troops.

At three o'clock, under the pale light of a waning moon, with the Southern Cross and the Great Bear both conspicuous, the troops silently prepared their morning meal and at five moved off into the darkness of the desert. General Butler's brigade, consisting of the Berkshire, West Kent, and Durham battalions, with a battery of Egyptian artillery, led the advance. The cavalry and mounted troops at first followed in the same line, but after passing the fort of Kosheh, which was left about 1,000 yards to the right, they diverged and spread out on the left flank. Next came the Yorkshire with the screw battery between their two half-battalions and lastly the Cameron Highlanders and two companies of Blacks, sweeping along the flat ground by the villages. It was known that the houses in the villages had been loopholed, that some guns had been mounted and there was reason to suppose that they would be obstinately defended.

¹ Afterwards Sir Archibald Hunter.



BATTLE OF GINNIS, DECEMBER 30, 1885.

By the time day dawned the screw battery was established on a crest about 1,200 yards from the village and as soon as the first shot was fired by the enemy it began to shell the houses, while some volley firing was directed at stragglers. The Camerons and Blacks then moved along, taking house by house, the battery transferring its aim to houses more advanced. A good many of the enemy were killed here, but one house, which contained a large garrison, was by an oversight passed by and gave a great deal of trouble afterwards.

When General Butler arrived abreast of Ginnis he found a number of the enemy on his front and flanks and opened fire upon them. Many groups of them charged with great spirit, brandishing their long swords and occasionally coming to a hand-to-hand encounter. A well-directed shell from the Egyptian battery burst at the large banner of the Chief Emir and dispersed his followers; many camels and horses of the enemy were killed also. When this attack, which was very lively for three quarters of an hour, was repulsed, the enemy was perceived to stream off in small bodies from General Butler's right front and from their camp at Ginnis towards Atab, about 1,500 to 2,000 being visible at a time on the plain. Fire was opened on them, but the distance was too great to be effective. Meanwhile the 2nd Brigade moved forward upon Ginnis, as well as the 1st Brigade. More than a dozen fine banners with embroidered texts were taken in the enemy's camp by General Butler and presented to Sir Frederick Stephenson on his entering the village at 9.30.

The artillery practice of both batteries against the mud houses was excellent; several of these were set on fire and great masses of wall fell. By the time we reached the village it was entirely deserted.

The cavalry continued the pursuit towards Abri, the fugitives throwing away everything which encumbered them.

In Ginnis were found two pairs of very fine drums, a quantity of camp equipment, some ammunition and food, two guns and a few rifles, besides a number of loose animals.

General Butler's brigade resumed its movement after a short halt and reached Amara.

The *Lotus*, which had co-operated by her Gardner fire on the river bank, proceeded up to Amara and two *nuggars*, containing five days' rations for the whole force, sailed up in the afternoon. The rations, cooking-pots, great-coats and blankets of the force, which had been parked on leaving Kosheh, were ordered up while the engagement was going on and reached Ginnis very soon after the arrival of the troops.

The casualties on our side were as follows : Killed : two officers and, as far as we know, six men. Wounded : four officers and thirty men.

During the afternoon the fortified house near Kosheh continued to resist and a fire was kept up on it. Desultory firing also went on upon the west bank during the night, but nothing of consequence.

The loss of the enemy is about 300 ; a few prisoners were taken, but their wounded, who probably amounted to 1,200 or 1,500, all got away. Their force is unknown, but is supposed to have been about 5,000.

As the fugitives will have to account for their retreat by exaggerating the force to which they were opposed, we may expect that our numbers are being represented as countless.¹

The excellent disposition of our force, which

¹ Colonel Ardagh reckoned without the sturdy capacity for lying which always supports a beaten army. A thanksgiving service to Allah was afterwards held in Khartum by the Mahdi's forces for the great victory vouchsafed to them on this occasion.

showed the whole of the hills for five miles round lined with troops as the morning dawned, must have also tended to create an impression that our force was very large. The moral effect of this battle on the enemy may be considered as very great and reports of our overwhelming numbers will be carried to Dongola by the fugitives.

During the early part of the fight I had a very narrow escape. A bullet passed through my helmet close to my head,¹ making my left ear smart. Another quarter of an inch would have ended my career. We buried Lieutenant Soltau at Ginnis in the afternoon and the 2nd Brigade and Headquarters Staff remained there.

The house near Kosheh held out for a whole day. There were no explosives handy to blow in walls, and, even if there had been, the perfect rabbit-warren of little rooms which proved to exist within would have cost more than it was worth to destroy.

General Butler's brigade and cavalry moved to Abri. Reconnaissance sent to Koyeh.

The enemy retreated from Koyeh on the 30th, taking the severely wounded in *nuggars*.

January 1, 1886.—The 2nd Brigade, Colonel Huyshe, consisting of the Camerons, Egyptian battalion, Whateley's battery, etc., marched to Abri, leaving the Yorkshire battalion in garrison at Ginnis, and picking up the West Kent left behind at Abri by General Butler, who marched

¹ Colonel Ardagh and General Grenfell were close together at the moment, and were looking through a telescope, with their heads above a rock. I have been told that Colonel Ardagh's eyeglass was hanging down his back and that, after several desperate efforts to retrieve it, he finally succeeded, fixed it in his eye, proceeded to put his finger through the hole in his helmet and returned placidly to his former occupation. He suffered all his life afterwards from slight deafness in consequence of the shock. The skin was only just grazed.

with the rest of the 1st Brigade and Egyptian battery to Koyeh, the cavalry going on in advance. We had a warm march, but only one man fell out.

I made a sketch illustrating the movements on the 30th. Congratulatory telegrams were received from the Secretary of State for War, from the Duke of Cambridge, and from Sir Frederick Roberts.

A plum pudding, the thoughtful parting gift of a lady at Cairo, was shared between our mess and that of Sir Frederick Stephenson.

In camp at ABRI, January 2.—Four *nuggars* laden with grain and arms were captured at Said Effendi. Rations were sent on to General Butler; a daily post was organised throughout the line; dispositions were made for moving the sick and wounded, chiefly by boat; telegraphic communication was restored down the west bank; and a bakery was established at Abri. Very busy making up reports of operations which must leave to-morrow morning to catch the Brindisi mail.

ABRI, *January 3.*—The *Lotus* and mounted infantry continued the pursuit as far as Absarat and captured in all nine *nuggars* laden with grain and arms. It was decided to-day that the further pursuit be discontinued and the force withdrawn. Orders were framed to that effect. Personally I was strongly in favour of going on to Dongola.¹

ABRI, *January 5.*—Surveyed yesterday and the day before, but a strong wind from the north laden with dust made the air too dim to allow of

¹ The reconquest of the province of Dongola cost 411 lives and £715,000 in money, which Lord Cromer (see "Modern Egypt," vol. ii. p. 91) considered to show economical management on the part of Lord Kitchener.

At this price the province was reclaimed from barbarism and Dongola itself reoccupied on September 23, 1896.

observing any distant points until to-day when I completed the survey to Koyeh.

It appears that the dervishes carried off the iron railings from the great tomb of Sheikh Idris at Koyeke to make spears.

They are all now south of Kaibar and, having no *nuggars* below that cataract, will hardly be able to pass any down this low Nile. It would now be useless to pursue with a view to overtaking the enemy and, as it is not contemplated to reoccupy Dongola at present, there is no reason why we should stay up here longer than suits us.

Of course any retrograde movement is liable to be construed as a defeat, but in this case we simply marched out, gave the enemy a beating, put him thoroughly to flight, pursued him until we lost trace of him and captured his supplies; now we march back and resume our old position at Kosheh—not a very admirable position, I admit, but one which a single battalion was able to hold under constant fire for more than a month.

January 6.—The 2nd Brigade marched to Kosheh with headquarters and staff. I surveyed the river, road and battlefield of Ginnis, incidentally discovering that the killed were more numerous than I thought. They all wore the Mahdi's uniform, most seemed young and of Arab tribes up the river—Shaggihs, Baggaras, etc.—very few negroes. A considerable number of camels also were killed. Had our cavalry pursued a little more rapidly immediately after the action, we should have got many more.

KOSHEH, *January 7.*—The move downwards is now in full swing. Butler marches from Koyeh to Amara to-day. We remain at Kosheh, except Yorkshire and Whateley's battery and details, who are now on their way to Akasheh. Surveyed

part of the road thither. At Kosheh Sclater and I inhabit a mud hut, the roof of which is a mere shade of matting, rain being almost unknown. Although the inhabitants look dirty enough, particularly the women, whose garments are almost as brown as their skins, there is a total absence of vermin ; not a single individual of any species did I hear of. It can't be due to the cleanliness of the people. My theory is that these creatures don't like fat, with which the natives anoint themselves. We ourselves found that the hot sun and strong wind blistered and cracked our faces and hands, and that we were obliged to have recourse to unguents to keep our skins soft.

January 8.—Headquarters from Kosheh to Dal. I surveyed down to Abri to-day and had a most tiring series of climbs to the successive summits of very rocky hills.

The Dal Cataract is long and difficult and all the stores have to be transported by land for about four miles. From Dal to Akasheh the river presents no obstacles.

The move downwards of the Nile Expedition was in full swing by January 7. Sir Frederick Stephenson and his staff reached Halfa on the 9th, and General Grenfell hospitably entertained the whole party on board his dahabieh, the *Pharaon*. By the night of the 11th they had anchored opposite Abu Simbel, of which Colonel Ardagh made a sketch at dawn the next morning. The following account of the passage of the 1st Cataract by the dahabiehs *Pharaon* and *Gazelle* will serve to remind the reader of the difficulties of navigation which have since been overcome.

ASSUAN, *January 15*.—I went up to Shellal last night, and found the *Pharaon*, General Grenfell's dahabieh, dropped down about two miles to the head of the cataract, with Colonel Colville's *Gazelle* also ready to pass down. The Sheikh of the Cataract and his men were ready to begin operations next morning.

At sunrise we began to move. All the hatches had been removed; each corresponded to one of the oars or sweeps and in each was arranged a sloping gang-board with cleats, up which the rowers mounted when putting back their oars, descending again as they pulled the stroke. We had twelve sweeps and about three men to each. It reminded one of what the galley-slaves must have been. The morning was calm and we started off to the accompaniment of a cheerful song.

After a few minutes we came to a mild rapid, where the excitement began. The rowers had but little effect on the heavy *Pharaon*. At their best they hardly made more than half a mile an hour, just enough to give steerage way in quiet water. Now we approached the great shoot of the cataract, a channel about sixty feet in width, with the water pouring through it at a tolerably quick incline and at a rate of over fifteen miles an hour. The men rowed as hard as they could up to the entrance of the shoot and then let the oars lie alongside. We were in the channel and beyond all control, in an instant. There was silence for a moment as we slid down in the middle of the torrent. Then came symptoms of turning across the stream, which would have been fatal; the Sheikh of the Cataract yelled to the man at the helm and every one of the crew howled in chorus. Now we dashed past a wall of rock and the star-board sweeps, although lying alongside, were crushed and several of them ground into match-wood in an instant. Onward we rushed, at

last making a plunge under water at the bottom, and to all appearance were about to be dashed to pieces on a wall of rock opposite. The Sheikh shrieked "Bahri," danced and wrung his hands, the helm was put hard a-starboard and we swung round into a sort of whirlpool, in which we gave two complete turns and finally bumped hard on a rock in the backwater. At this moment the yelling was terrific. The Sheikh prostrated himself and prayed. The man at the helm let go, contrary orders were given and at last we just missed dropping through a side-channel where we stuck fast.

All this time the *Gazelle* was hard on our heels and I thought that, had we continued our gyrations in the whirlpool, she must have crashed into us. I counted the seconds from the moment of her entering the great shoot to her arrival in the pool below and made the time forty-three seconds. She must have steered a bit on the opposite side to avoid us. Anyhow, the result was that she got out of the channel on the opposite side and dashed against a rock. We were in Charybdis and they were on Scylla. At first our crew, seeing the *Gazelle* coming down so swimmingly, were quite green with envy. But when she struck they seemed to forget their own misfortunes in delight at those of their rival. However, it was not a time for recriminations and from both vessels dashed off naked sailors holding in their teeth ropes, with which they swam to appropriate pinnacles of rock and made fast.

The *Gazelle* got off first. We lost our bowsprit and eventually, after an hour's struggle and shouting, gesticulation and prayer, we got off again, shipped new oars (only ten could now be mustered) and recommenced rowing. There were still some bad places, but the worst was over and after some more narrow squeaks and a few bumps

which ought to have knocked a hole in our bottom, we glided into a fairly smooth water and the excitement died away in the monotonous chant of the rowers. By 10 p.m. we had reached Assuan.

Evidently the passage of so large a dahabieh as the *Pharaon*, in the exceptionally low state of the river, is an operation of some risk. At two stages I thought that the time had come to unhook my jacket and stand by for a catastrophe. On the other hand, it struck me that these cataract men, who spend all their lives in going up and down, ought to have managed far better, as they must know every current, eddy and rock in the river. It was evidently a very exciting time for them, and when the danger was over they indulged freely in prayer.

I should have mentioned that everything had been taken out of the dahabieh which could reasonably be moved before we undertook the operation. The dahabiehs need to be very strongly built to bear the terrific bumps which we underwent, and I am surprised that our masts and yards stood the shock.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION OF ARDAGH'S EGYPTIAN SERVICE

1886—1887

The military position in Egypt—The Moufettish, a dark chapter in Egyptian history—Adjustment of Anglo-Egyptian finances—The new Mobilisation scheme.

CAIRO, *February* 28.—The battle of Ginnis on December 30, although in point of numbers killed it cannot compare with the slaughter at Teb, Tamai and other encounters with the Sudanese, is now stated to have been far more demoralising to the dervish party than could have been expected. They had over 10,000 on their rolls which we captured at Ginnis. Allowing that 1,000 were killed or seriously wounded, the remainder have melted away to such an extent that by the last reports there are now but 500 about the 3rd Cataract (Kermah and Abu Fatmeh), and another 500 at Dongola.¹

¹ The authorities at home considered the battle of Ginnis to be of little importance, judging from letters written to Colonel Ardagh about this time. They apparently regarded only the numbers killed and not the strategical skill which had procured the desired result at little cost of life. In one of these letters it was pointed out that the whole affair was merely an agreeable "outing" with which every one concerned ought to consider himself as sufficiently rewarded. This view was not shared by Lord Cromer (see "Modern Egypt," vol. ii. p. 30), for he states that this action inflicted a severe blow on the Mahdi and for the time being allayed all fear of a serious invasion of Egypt by the dervishes.

The force under Nejumi at Berber has been very variously estimated—from 1,000 to 10,000, with from 6 to 17 guns of various sorts. I suspect that it never reached 3,000 and is now nearer 1,000. A scarcity of corn is reported there which will tend to keep down the numbers. In Kordofan it appears certain that the black troops have risen against the dervishes and have killed a great many of them, some accounts say all, and that they are moving towards Duem on the White Nile under Farag-Allah (Gordon's Commandant of Omdurman).

This movement has diverted attention from the English, and it is stated that the Khalifa Abdullah Taishi is sending reinforcements to Kordofan. Other towns and districts, Sennar, Galabat, etc., on the Blue Nile, are said to have risen against the dervishes, and on the whole the people have got thoroughly tired of them.

The Ababdeh sheikhs have been trimming between us and the Mahdi ever since the movement began. They have not, however, been impartial, for they kept the other side fully informed of our movements and did not communicate to us the information they possessed. The Ababdehs can throw a great deal of weight into the scales in a quiet way. They hold the keys of the Korosko-Abu-Hamed road, and could open it to us tomorrow if they chose. Hassan, Saleh, Minshetta, Bishir, etc., have hunted with the hounds and run with the hare the whole time. They have taken our money, eaten our salt and played us false.

When the moment arrives to go to Berber I think we should give the whole family the choice between opening the road and being hung. There is no chance of any movement of the dervishes from Berber. They have neither camels nor food enough to attempt to march on Korosko or

Assuan. In fact we have tranquillity assured for some months at least. What, then, should we do ?

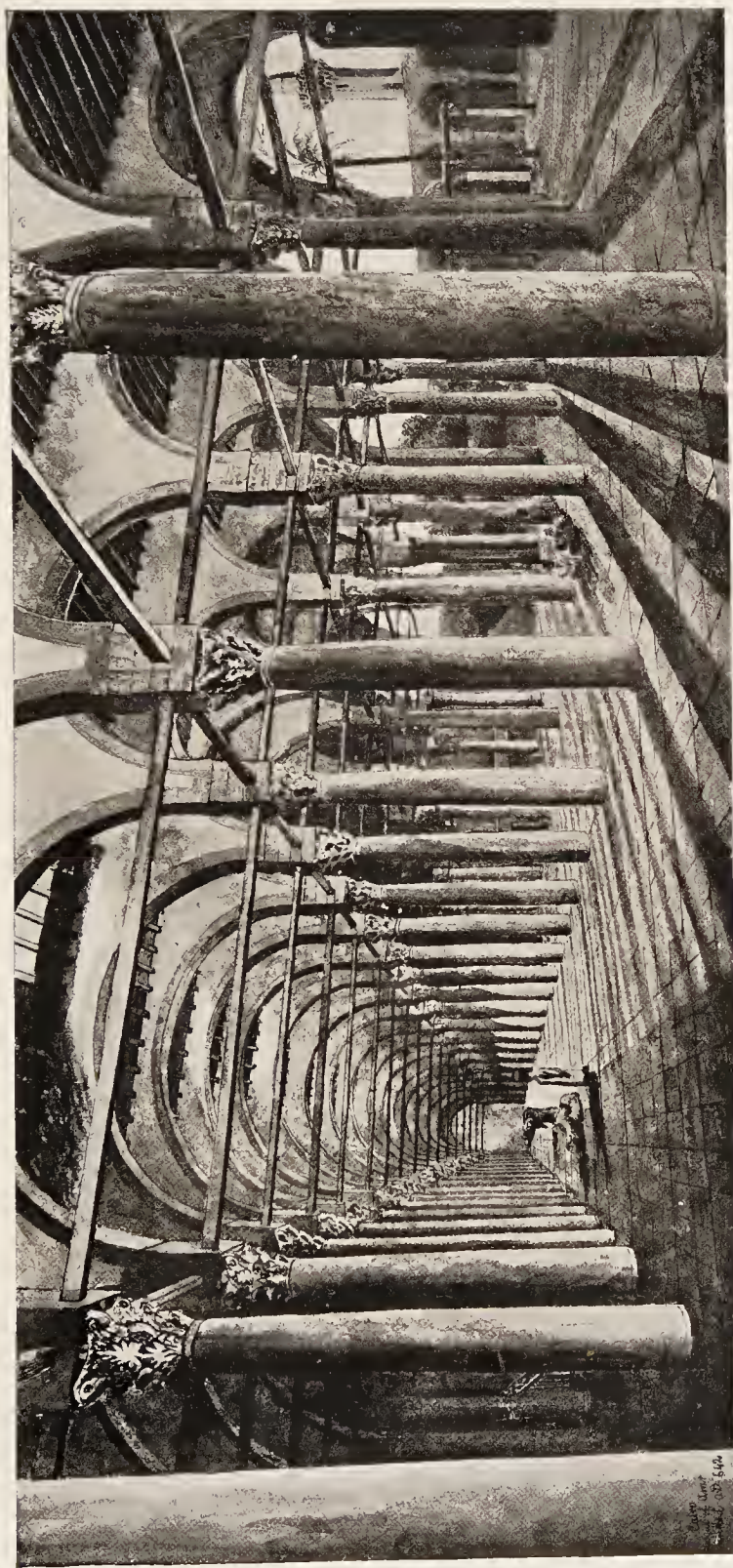
I have never had a doubt about the desirability of maintaining a hold on the Sudan. It did not pay, and probably never will pay, as a province, but its retention avoided greater evils than making good the deficit. Tranquillity in Egypt means an active military policy in the Sudan.

Egypt can no more ignore and cut herself free from the Sudan than England can sever her connection with Ireland. The policy of abandoning the Sudan was, in my opinion, a blunder, and the late announcement that British troops were not going to Dongola (February 26) is another piece of stupid frankness of the same sort. I recommend going to Dongola when it suits our convenience, but not now, after our return to Cairo, although even at this moment it might be done with ease. Obviously we are not desirous of maintaining British garrisons up the Nile for an indefinite period.

What is required is a force of Blacks and Egyptians, and a few Turks who can live on the country, not English soldiers who require their jam and pickles and their umbrellas specially imported from England, besides their ordinary supplies.

The province of Dongola was not only self-supporting but contributed £14,000 a year to the Egyptian Exchequer. It may do so again.

About 3,000 Blacks, 1,000 Egyptian infantry, two or three Egyptian batteries, a camel corps and a couple of squadrons of cavalry could replace all our troops in front of Halfa and take Dongola into the bargain, hold it, and pay their own expenses. But they would need a strong and ruthless man as ruler, untrammelled by deputations from Exeter Hall and the Anti-Slavery Association and



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

p. 218]

CAIRO—MOSQUE OF AMR, FOUNDED A.D. 642.

inconvenient inquiries in Parliament. An honest Egyptian Turk, if such a man can be found, is the man for the place. We English are too humane for the work. We send Zebehr into mild seclusion, pay people for being faithless to us, break our promises in a way unheard of until the last Liberal administration, lose our prestige by abandoning the fruits of victory and leave a well-founded impression that we are neither firm friends nor redoubtable enemies. The Turk they know, detest and fear.

This force, then, should go up to Dongola about July, as soon as the steamers can get up the Kaibar Cataract. British troops should at least accompany them as far as their first fight. I should leave them three steamers on the Dongola-Merawi reach and expect them to be in possession of Abu-Hamed and perhaps Berber, before the winter.

The British troops might then be withdrawn to Halfa and Assuan.

There are a number of disaffected people about on the river near Korosko, who badly want an example made of some of them. We treat these people with mistaken lenity. The pious hypocrites who sanctioned the cold-blooded abandonment of the Sudan garrisons to massacre and who now emit an announcement which will encourage the dervishes to fresh exertions and increase our difficulties on the Nile, do not mind our slaying thousands in battle, but howl out at any sign of a little judicious severity. We dare not do what we ought.

Our present position on the river is a thoroughly illogical one. We are either too far or not far enough, and yet for the moment we are bound to stay where we are until high Nile, before we can either advance or retire creditably.

Suakin is becoming troublesome again and

another fight may soon become necessary there. This will be almost inevitable when the British troops are withdrawn and I think it would be better to bring it on sooner, rather than wait for the hot weather.

I fancy that the tribes have got really tired of Osman Digna and of being slaughtered. It is singular that McNeill's fight, which we regard as rather an untoward event,¹ should be the one battle which cowed the Arabs more than any other. They are wonderful people, these Hadendowa tribes, returning to Tamai, where they twice lost so heavily, apparently as ready to face us as before.

Colonel Ardagh's notes on Egypt close with a short account of Mr. Cope Whitehouse's discoveries at the Fayum, which he considered of great practical importance and with the following details respecting the death of the Moufettish, Ismail Pasha's Finance Minister, in 1876.

¹ An officer, however, who had considerable experience of such fights and who had to count the dead, confidently assured the general at the time that the dervishes, the real fighters, had been practically wiped out and that there would be no other battle that campaign.

This was confirmed a few days later by our native spies, who reported that after the battle the women went to Osman Digna and said :

“ Where are our husbands ? Where are our brothers ? You said that this time you would drive the English into the sea. We will go into the hills, and if the English follow us there, God's will be done ! ”

And Osman Digna covered his face with his hands and answered not a word.

There is no doubt that the departure of the women had a great effect on Osman Digna's plans. They were useful in many ways : in preparing food, carrying loads, and even, as has been seen, in fighting in the trenches.

THE MOUFETTISH ¹*A Dark Chapter in Egyptian History*

March.—The man in question was for many years the most trusted agent of the Khedive Ismail in matters of internal management. He acquired an immense fortune, mainly accumulated by making use of opportunities for obtaining baksheesh and practising extortion. Finally he became rich enough to excite the cupidity of his master and powerful enough to rouse his hostility. With a view to secure himself against the arbitrary actions of Ismail, he intrigued to obtain promotion to the grade of Mushir, vainly hoping that the Sultan would protect him ; and he also endeavoured to obtain foreign protection, but failed in both and was conscious of having become an object of Ismail's suspicion and resentment.

Several attempts were made by the Khedive to entrap him. At last, one day,² two aides-de-camp came and informed him that he was required immediately at the palace. Singularly enough, a sheikh or *hodja*, attached to his household, whom he was accustomed, after the manner of Moslems, to consult as to the hours or days favourable or unlucky for executing his projects, had warned him that on this day there would come two hours which might prove fatal to his career ; and when the summons came, he had a presentiment of doom.

¹ Moufettish means superintendent, from *fattash*, an inquirer. This was Ismail Pasha Saddyk, Minister of Finance to the Khedive Ismail.

² In November 1876.

He called the head of his women-slaves, a woman whom he knew to be devoted to him, gave her all his compromising papers, and instructed her that if he did not return within exactly two hours she was to burn them all. He also gave her securities to the value of about £90,000, with which, being portable, he had intended in case of need to have quitted the country.

The two hours passed and the Moufettish had not returned. The faithful slave burnt the papers and concealed the securities. The Moufettish was exiled to Dongola and sent thither in custody of two officers of the Khedive. That night the police, under Prince Hassan, Ismail's son, surrounded the Moufettish's palace and entered it. All the women, wives, slaves and all, were compelled to give up the jewels of which they were possessed, to an enormous value. They were then cross-examined and beaten to ascertain where the money and securities were. (All the real property it was, of course, easy to confiscate.) Most of the women knew nothing. They were taken to the Zafaran Palace at Abbassiyeh, which belonged to Ismail's mother, there confined, and flogged with cour-bashes for several days. At night they were rubbed over with oil and wrapped in sheepskins, until the torture began again the next day. Everything of which they revealed the existence was taken, but the faithful slave still maintained silence. At last she was tortured by being suspended by the thumbs by cords, and in her agony she confessed to having given the £90,000 worth of securities to the mother of Yusuf (one of the Moufettish's children), from whom the securities were taken. The harem, consisting of about 300 women, was then sold for the benefit of Ismail. The children and mothers were reduced to poverty.

The Moufettish himself, who had practised

similar abominations on a minor scale, arrived in due time at Dongola and, being then in abject wretchedness, was recognised by a man whom he, in the days of his prosperity, had banished there in order that he might possess himself of his property. He appealed to this victim of his for charity. The man said: "When I have thanked God for having brought my oppressor to the dust, I will relieve you"; he prostrated himself, said his prayer, and gave the fallen Moufettish something to eat.

This man was allowed to return by Tewfik Pasha on his accession and is now in Cairo. His evidence was one of the proofs that the Moufettish had really reached Dongola, for many supposed that he had been "given a cup of coffee"—*i.e.* had been poisoned—on the way. This was not the case.

When he had been a few weeks in Dongola the telegraph clerk there was roused up in the middle of the night by Cairo Station. He asked who was there, and was told one of his Highness's household. A cipher message was transmitted for the Mudir of Dongola. The clerk said the Mudir was in bed and that he barricaded his house at night, being unpopular with the inhabitants. He was ordered to hand the telegram to the Mudir at once. The clerk ran to the police and with some of them went to the house of the Mudir, whom they awakened with difficulty, telling him that a cipher message had arrived which was to be delivered at once. The Mudir became very nervous—his hand trembled; he directed the telegraph clerk to come in, told him he was too agitated to decipher the message and ordered him to do it himself. The clerk obeyed; it was to this effect: "You must report that the Moufettish is dead to-morrow morning."

The Mudir heard and trembled, and directed the clerk to reply in his name : " Your commands shall be attended to." The people in charge of the Moufettish were called up and given the order to put an end to him. They attempted to strangle him, but in his struggles he got the thumb of one of the officers in his mouth and nearly bit it off. The man finished him with a knife.

Next morning a mock inquest was held and a telegram was sent to Cairo announcing that the Moufettish had died suddenly.

The telegraph clerk—a timid little one-eyed man, now in the Assuan telegraph office—was in great terror at what he had heard, and his fears were not allayed when one of the officers who had brought the Moufettish up to Dongola called him and pointed significantly to a tree and then to his neck, plainly implying that they might be brought together by a rope.

So perished the Moufettish and he was buried at Dongola. The whole of his property was seized by Ismail. When I was in Cairo in the winter of 1876-7, the diamonds and jewels of his harem were being sold. The man who assisted in murdering him and whose hand still bears the scar, is now an employé in the Daira Sanieh, under Mr. Kelly.

It was known at the time that the murder had taken place, but none of the foreign consuls took notice of it.¹ Several of the women who were tortured still bear marks of the

¹ Lord Cromer says : " Ismail Pasha Saddyk (the Moutettish) boasted that in one year he had extracted £15,000 from the people of Egypt," and adds that there is no doubt that he was murdered in a boat while proceeding up the Nile. Colonel Ardagh, however, had also exceptional opportunities for learning the real facts.

courbash. The money and property were appropriated by Ismail and were disposed of for his benefit.

The Chief Eunuch, who superintended the torture of the women, had retribution. He was put an end to by the Validé, Ismail's mother.

In addition to his other duties, Colonel Ardagh had been appointed in 1885 to adjust the financial arrangements between England and Egypt and to this employment he again devoted himself on his return to Cairo after the Second Nile Expedition. He was also a member of the Commission for the Reform of the Monetary System and the System of Weights and Measures in Egypt, and on these subjects he prepared reports for the War Office.

At the end of July he obtained leave and embarked for England, where he spent a few weeks among his friends. Among other visits he must have paid one to Winchester, for his note-book contains the following entry :

“ Invoice of the time of Henry II., in the care of Dr. Kitchen, Dean of Winchester, 1886 :

<i>To</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Solderynge and repairing St. Joseph	8	
Cleaning and ornamentynge ye Holie Ghost ..	6	
Repairing ye Virgin Mary	4	8
Screwynge a nose on ye Devyl		
Putting a horn on hys head and gluyinge a bit of hys tayle	5	6
	<hr/>	
	11	4”
	15	

The month of September Colonel Ardagh spent in Scotland and on October 5 started on his return to Cairo. In December he received his promotion as Lieut.-Colonel, R.E., and permission from H.M. Queen Victoria to accept and wear the Order of the Mejidieh, Third Class, which had been presented to him by the Khedive.¹

The question of military expenditure in Egypt had now reached a crisis and Colonel Ardagh, who had already been entrusted by the Foreign Office with the settlement of the claims made against the military authorities in Egypt in 1882, was now employed by them with the adjustment of the claims made by the Egyptian Government for military expenses connected with the first Nile Expedition.

It should be remembered that, in 1884, Egypt was on the brink of insolvency and that economy was therefore strongly indicated.

At the end of June 1887 he had just arrived in England on leave when he received for the first time the information, forwarded to him by Sir Frederick Stephenson, the General Commanding in Egypt, that his employment in that country was to be forthwith terminated and that he had been struck off the strength of that command on June 14.

When Colonel Ardagh left Egypt the settlement of accounts between the British and Egyptian Governments upon which he had been for

¹ He had received his Brevet Colonelcy in 1885.



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

some time employed had reached an advanced stage, but was not yet completed. Three considerable claims, two of which had been already reported upon and were under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, remained to be decided. The report upon the third, which related to the Nile Expedition accounts, had been a very laborious affair. It amounted to £210,552 net, and was supported by 25,000 vouchers, nearly all in Arabic.

Colonel Ardagh had finished the first examination of the accounts extending over 1884, had returned them to the Egyptian Finance Ministry with voluminous queries for explanation and reply, and had gone roughly into the 1885 accounts, which he had also forwarded to the Finance Ministry. Pending the return of these accounts, Colonel Ardagh had gone on leave, but now requested permission to go back to Egypt and finish his work.

The summer in England was an exceptionally cold one, rendering fur coats and fires agreeable luxuries; but the climate to which Colonel Ardagh betook himself with such conscientious industry may be imagined from the following quotation from a Cairene newspaper of that date :

At midday yesterday a wind like a furnace blew and many men in business had to suspend operations. Two cab-horses fell from sunstroke and we suppose that they were not the only

animals that succumbed to the heat. In a well-known mercantile establishment two of the clerks fainted and had to be carried home, and in the afternoon things became much worse, for the heat was intolerable, even to those accustomed to live in tropical climates. Towards evening the temperature lowered a little, but up to a late hour Cairo was an inferno.

Colonel Ardagh had been appointed Colonel on the Staff in Egypt in January 1887, but in November, having completed the settlement of accounts and received the thanks of the Treasury and the War Office, he was summoned to London to fill the new appointment of Assistant Adjutant-General (Intelligence Department), a post which had just been created to deal with the vital question of mobilisation, hitherto neglected, in spite of the object-lessons supplied by the Franco-German War.

THE NEW MOBILISATION SCHEME

“When General Brackenbury,” writes a friend of Sir John Ardagh’s, “took over the Intelligence Department in January 1886, there was no scheme of mobilisation in existence; he drew attention to this grave danger, and put forward certain proposals. Mr. Smith, Secretary of State for War, appointed Sir Ralph Thompson (Permanent Under-Secretary at the War Office) and General Brackenbury a committee to consider the problem. Their report suggested that the preparation of two Army Corps for Foreign

Service should be taken as the basis of the Mobilisation scheme of the Regular Army. This proposal was accepted, and a sub-committee, consisting of Major-General Brackenbury (President); Lieut.-Colonel Hildyard, D.A.A.G., Captain Percy Lake, of the Intelligence Division, and Major Goldsmid, D.A.Q.M.G., was appointed to work out the details of the scheme.

"It soon, however, became apparent that this new work demanded the exclusive attention of a special branch of the Headquarters Staff, and that this branch should be entrusted to an officer of standing, endowed with the ability and organising power needed for a task of national importance. General Brackenbury's suggestion that Colonel Ardagh be selected for the new post was supported by Lord Wolseley and proved acceptable to the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State.

"For three months the new A.A.G. for Mobilisation worked at Queen Anne's Gate under the D.M.I., but the arrangement was found to be inconvenient, and an Order in Council was therefore issued in February 1888, placing the new Mobilisation sub-division directly under the Adjutant-General. Colonel Ardagh and his subordinate Staff consequently moved from Queen Anne's Gate to the main War Office buildings in Pall Mall.

"The work of the sub-division was now augmented and for a time it became probably the most important branch of the Headquarters Staff. The original basis of the mobilisation scheme was enlarged; while still including the preparation of two Army Corps for over-sea service, it was permitted to face the problem of the share of responsibility borne by the Land Forces of the Crown for Home Defence, and to

work out the best method of organising them for that purpose.

“Into this task Ardagh threw his whole energies and, assisted by Captain Percy Lake, Colonel Macgregor, Captain Fleming, R.A., and Captain Codrington, Coldstream Guards, evolved, in principle, a solution of the problem. Before the end of 1888 this general plan was submitted by Colonel Ardagh to a Conference held at the War Office, at which Mr. Stanhope (who had succeeded Mr. Smith as Secretary of State); H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge; Lord Wolseley (Adjutant-General); Sir Redvers Buller (Quarter-master-General); Sir Lothian Nicholson (Inspector-General of Fortifications) and other officials of the War Office, were present. These proposals were formally accepted and approved.

“Two years later, on March 14, 1890, their substance was communicated to the House of Commons in a statement made by Mr. Stanhope. Colonel Ardagh was then in India, but his plans were developed by his three successors, Colonels Coleridge Grove, Neville Lyttelton and Stopford, into definite mobilisation regulations and schemes of defence.

“The scheme for Home Defence has not been tested by war and has since been rendered obsolete by changes in the conditions of the problem, notably by the immense advance which has been made in late years in the peace organisation of the Regular and Auxiliary Forces; but it is not too much to say that the general principles formulated by Ardagh at the initiation of the work of preparation of Home Defence still hold good.

“The mobilisation scheme only was subjected to the actual ordeal of war, at least as regards the force it prepared for over-sea service. The

smoothness and ease with which that force, and more than that force, was mobilised, came as a surprise even to the members of the Staff, who had built the scheme up step by step.

“To every soldier and every civilian who has studied the business of war it is apparent that, but for the mobilisation system initiated by General Brackenbury and Colonel Ardagh, and perfected by the latter’s successors, it would have been impossible for Great Britain to have embarked for active service the Cavalry Division and eight Infantry Divisions which saved South Africa to the Empire in the first six months of the war.”

In April 1888 Colonel Ardagh was selected by the Commander-in-Chief to serve on his personal staff as extra *aide-de-camp* in succession to Colonel Albert Williams, R.A., it being the Duke’s custom to let the vacancy be filled alternately by an officer of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. He held this appointment until 1895.

In July 1888 Colonel Ardagh took a trip with Sir John Pender in his steam yacht, the *Mirror*, and was present at the Jubilee Review of the Fleet. The party consisted of Lords Derby, Wolseley, Alcester, Sir H. Vivian, Sir Julian Pauncefote and others.

In September he went for another cruise in the *Mirror*, and among the guests on this occasion were Dean Bradley, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Keeley Halswell, the distinguished artist. It

was pointed out to the latter, who was enjoying a holiday, how industrious Colonel Ardagh was in sketching whenever there was a chance, and he replied: "Yes; but painting is his *amusement*; it is my work."



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

p. 232]

CONSTANTINOPLE, 1888.

CHAPTER XVI

INDIA

1888-1894

*By Colonel Algernon Durand*¹

Private Secretary to Viceroy of India—Duties, qualifications, congratulations—Arrival at Calcutta—Situation in 1888—Lighting of the Red Sea—Territorial mobility—Re-organisation of the Indian army—Royal Engineers in India—A frontier province—Fall in the value of the rupee—Conclusion.

WHILE still deeply immersed in the Mobilisation Scheme referred in to the foregoing chapter, Colonel Ardagh was offered, in October 1888, the post of private secretary to the Marquess of Lansdowne, who was about to start for India as Viceroy. Writing to Senator Sir James Gowan² in Canada, from Calcutta in January 1889, soon after taking up his new appointment, he says :

It gave me great pleasure to receive your letter of congratulation and I have waited a few weeks before replying, in order to form some idea of the

¹ Colonel Algernon Durand, C.B., C.I.E., formerly Military Secretary to Lord Elgin (Lord Lansdowne's successor).

² The Hon. Sir James Robert Gowan, K.C.M.G., LL.D., K.C., a connection of Colonel Ardagh's, was born in 1815. After a distinguished career of sixty years in the Canadian Judicial Service, he was still hale and hearty enough to enjoy, in 1907, at the age of ninety-six, a visit to his friends in England.

novel surroundings into which I have so unexpectedly plunged. I was engaged in most interesting work at the Horse Guards, where I had the friendship and confidence of many from whom I was loth to part; and it was a severe wrench to tear myself away in the middle of numerous wide-reaching plans just assuming shape and substance. My new departure was a complete surprise to me. One day Lord Lansdowne, whom I had never met before, came to see me and made the proposal. I replied that I thought he had mistaken me for some one else, as I had never had any Indian experience; but he answered that he was quite aware of it, and that we should start fair in that respect. I then told him that I had been brought into the War Office by Mr. Stanhope and Lord Wolseley to commence a new organisation and that I could not throw them over, nor my royal master the Duke of Cambridge; that it was to them he should resort if he wanted me; and, as for myself, I should be ready to do my duty in whatever sphere of life it might please God to call me. Lord Wolseley was very kind about it. He said he had had to part from his friends only too often; that he was never so sorry to lose any one as me, but that he would not stand in my way and advised me to go. The Duke and Mr. Stanhope followed suit, and H.R.H. was kind enough to keep me on as extra A.D.C. In a couple of days all was settled and in a few more I embarked with Lord Lansdowne for India. The work is, I imagine, the hardest of any in the world. It is only limited by power of endurance. The chief duty is to protect the Viceroy against everything from which he can be relieved.

Here there is a great deal of personal government, and the Viceroy is regarded as responsible for everything: making war, preventing famine,

remarrying widows, and exterminating wild beasts. He rules a hundred feudal princes, many of whom maintain a pomp superior to his own. The material prosperity of 250 millions of human beings, speaking hundreds of languages, comprising many diverse and hostile races and creeds, is in his hands. Every moment comes in a telegram, a letter, or a pile of documents requiring attention. There is no cessation, night or day, in the business of government. All this I have to prepare for him. The variety of work is infinite, the experience most interesting, but the labour is unending.

Lord Dufferin left the day after we arrived. I was very glad of the opportunity of seeing him, and in a short time he gave me much good advice. One leading feature of it was : "Never let your own hand be seen ; remember it is the Viceroy who speaks ! You are his *alter ego*." It is a very responsible position, and one which gives much anxiety, for India is so vast and has so many nations on its borders that unexpected troubles are of constant occurrence.

Extracts from a note written by Sir John Ardagh at the end of his term of office, in October 1893, when the question arose of the appointment of his successor, best explain the duties which were to engross his time for the next five years.

It will be useful, perhaps, that I should record my impressions as to the selection of a private secretary to the future Viceroy, in the light of my own experience.

The duties of the office are multifarious. Private correspondence, in the strict sense, occupies but little time. The Viceroy dictates most of his letters to a shorthand writer. Demi-official corre-

spondence is, however, very large indeed. The Viceroy receives letters from persons in all parts of India, of every grade and occupation, on all manner of subjects, and preferring every sort of request. Of these a portion is transferred by the private secretary for disposal to the department of Government which they concern and the rest is inquired into and dealt with by the private secretary under the Viceroy's order.

The private secretary exercises a general supervision over all the expenditure connected with the Viceregal establishments, and he audits all the accounts. He also keeps lists of candidates for appointments over which the Viceroy exercises patronage, and correspondence relative to recommendations for offices and rewards.

His most engrossing duty, however, arises from his being the channel through which all official business is submitted to the Viceroy. All the departments of the Government of India, with the exception of the military, send up files connected with cases requiring the consideration, decision, or authority of the Viceroy, to the private secretary for submission and it is his business to "devil" them and present them in such a shape as to save His Excellency as much trouble as possible. In this respect he is rather a general secretary, or *chef de cabinet*, than a private secretary.

The proper performance of these duties requires previous experience of the business and routine of public offices and a general knowledge of administrative work—the wider the better.

Opinions differ as to whether Indian or English experience is most valuable.

An Indian official would supply the local knowledge of which an English Viceroy would, *ex hypothesi*, be deficient, and this is very convenient; but, on the other hand, he would most likely have

ties, liabilities, and prejudices which might warp his judgment or restrict his independence.

An Englishman entirely unconnected with India would be wanting in local knowledge and dependent to some extent on information furnished by the departments, which, however, it is not undesirable that he should have to consult. He would have a wider and more recent acquaintance with the public feeling at home, with the tendencies of foreign and domestic policy, and with the views likely to be entertained by Parliament and in the organs of public opinion on Indian occurrences and questions. The element in India possessing this qualification is an extremely restricted one, and external criticism is therefore of great value.

In purely personal matters, too, the impartiality and independence of a person unconnected with India have certain merits. The Indian service generally and the majority of the natives of India would, I understand, prefer an "outsider" as private secretary, and, in my opinion, they are right. Of other attributes which he should possess, the more important are good health, an inexhaustible capacity for work, sound judgment, common sense, and tact.

Such were the duties he was undertaking and such the requirements of his post. Of his eminent qualifications there can be no doubt. Cool, cautious, silent and reserved, of wide experience in fields of which an ordinary private secretary knows nothing, a trained engineer, a military organiser and reformer of tried ability, well versed in international law, a much-travelled man of the world, a trusted servant of the Home Government which he had served in secret and confidential missions, he brought to his task unusual qualifications.

The very excellence of his appointment makes it difficult to write a satisfactory chapter on his work as private secretary to the Viceroy; for a good private secretary, as Ardagh was, effaces himself and apparently initiates nothing, while at the same time exercising legitimately a considerable influence within the bounds of his office.

Again, the materials available are scarce. Except for a few months, he kept no diary during this period of his life and but a very limited number of his letters can be traced, while much of the material that exists is officially secret and confidential, and cannot therefore be used. Nevertheless, on certain important questions which came to the front during the five years he was in India, and on events which have left their mark on the government and history of the country, his opinions have been expressed and preserved; and these opinions are given, wherever possible, in his own words.

Among the many letters of congratulation on his appointment which Colonel Ardagh received from his friends, there is one from Lord Charles Beresford in which he promises to write to his brother, Lord William, who was Military Secretary to Lord Dufferin and who was to remain on with Lord Lansdowne in the same capacity:

Most certainly I will write to Bill, but what use is it? To see you is to like you. To know you is to be devoted to you. . . . Good luck and joy go with you.

These words sum up the influence which he exercised on men when they had learnt to know him, but the first introduction was rather alarming, and a man with a private axe to grind, the metal of which was in any way smirched, would not have a pleasant quarter of an hour in an interview with that silent, grave soldier, who, with a glass in his eye and the eternal cigarette in his hand, sat listening to the case put before him, occasionally breaking in with some trenchant question. Those who were not quite straight would not be likely to ask for a second interview or to enjoy it if forced upon them, but to a man after his own heart there was no more gentle, sympathetic, and staunch friend, no sounder or wiser adviser.

Lord Lansdowne took over charge at Calcutta on December 10, 1888, and Ardagh, with one short break, carried on the duties of private Secretary until April 1894. In Calcutta he lived in Government House and at Simla in the Observatory, a house within a few yards of Viceregal Lodge. It was essential that he should do so, in order that, as he expressed it, he "should be always at the beck and call of the Viceroy, and should devote every moment to his work." If he went but little into general society owing to the incessant pressure of his duties, yet he made it his business to mix with all classes, especially with the non-official element at Calcutta, where he frequently dined out in the small, pleasant,

and intellectual circle which the capital of India can provide for those who seek it.

Affairs in India at this time had reached an interesting juncture. Externally there was trouble in Afghanistan, excursions and alarms caused, as the Amir¹ openly said, by Russian intrigue. He was annoyed at the extension of our Kandahar Railway line to Chaman, suspicious of our proceedings on his and our Beluchistan border, and a joint British and Afghan Commission had failed to come to a satisfactory understanding in the Kurram Valley. The Amir had blown hot and cold about receiving a mission from us, and, in one of his aggravating moods, was suggesting that the Viceroy should head a mission to him composed of members of both Houses of Parliament. The Russians, on their side, were busy along his frontier and on the Pamirs, and were feeling their way to open up communications with tribes south of the Hindu Kush. There had been trouble on the extreme frontier of Kashmir between that State and Hunza and Nagar; there had been signs of unrest in Nepal and in Sikkim; anxiety was being caused by an act of invasion on the part of the Tibetans, and negotiations were dragging on with the Chinese on the subject. With regard to Burma, the upper portion of which had been recently annexed by Lord Dufferin, difficulties had arisen in the Shan States and Chin Hills; and Siam, which we had

¹ Abdur Rahman Khan.



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

P. 240]

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.

invited to co-operate with us in order to prevent the disturbance spreading on our common border, added to the embroglio by coolly appropriating a strip of country on our bank of the Salween River. In short, if there was not anything of instant importance, there were plenty of questions which might lead to serious complications, as must always be the case in an Eastern Empire with a land frontier thousands of miles in length. For in India, as Lord Dufferin once said, "the bottom is always dropping out of the bucket."

Internally the country was quiet and fairly prosperous, but the fall in the value of silver and the great and increasing fluctuations in the exchange value of the rupee were paralysing business, embarrassing the finances and making it impossible to frame budgets with any reasonable certainty. The aggregate deficit of the preceding five years had mounted to five millions sterling, and the refusal of the Home Government to join in the attempt to come to an international agreement for the use of silver as well as gold as full legal tender at a fixed ratio had led to such further decline and such violent fluctuations in exchange, that it was evident that India must seek for a remedy by acting for herself without the co-operation of other nations. Beyond this there was at the moment no burning question of internal politics. There was, however, the ever-pressing question of the defence of the Indian Empire and the time had come when

the army was to be reorganised and the old Presidency system swept away.

It is impossible, within the space at command, to follow step by step the history of the Viceroyalty; to touch on royal visits, on tours throughout India, during which Ardagh accompanied Lord Lansdowne; on frontier wars; on the settlement of the Pamir frontier with Russia; on the thorny Somaliland question; on that everlasting riddle of the Sphinx, as far as India is concerned—Afghanistan and the tribes on our borders; on the thousand and one subjects connected with internal politics which occupied Colonel Ardagh's mind, and on all of which he has left copious notes. The most that can be attempted is to make, without any concern for the ordered sequence of time in the events or subjects treated, a selection from his writings which may show his many-sidedness and clear judgment.

On his way out Ardagh made notes on the fortifications, armament and general condition of Aden. He had also been in correspondence with Sir Evelyn Baring, who was then in Cairo, and who urged him to bring before Lord Lansdowne the question of the lighting of the Red Sea, and especially the importance of a light on Socotra. He wrote to Colonel Hozier, Secretary of Lloyd's, a letter full of detail on the subject and, when the matter came up officially, noted as follows :

First of all, I would call attention to the fact that, in the thirteen years from 1872 and 1885,

the approximate value of vessels and cargo of British nationality only lost on or near Cape Guardafui, exceeded a million sterling, and that the purely utilitarian value of light-houses in this locality, when measured by the diminution of risk to British shipping, so enormously outweighs the cost of construction and maintenance that delay in executing the necessary works is certainly folly and almost amounts to criminal neglect. Though India should have to bear the whole expense, it would be money well spent, even if no dues were levied to defray the cost.

The question was one which had been discussed for years, and it was not decided to his satisfaction ; in fact, there is still no light on Socotra or at Cape Guardafui, nor is there at present any idea of placing lights there.

The necessity for strengthening and broadening the base of our rule in India soon forced itself on Ardagh's mind and, in a note too long to give *in extenso*, on the subject of titles for native chiefs, a question which arose in connection with the case of the succession of the son of a well-known titular Maharajah in Bengal, he wrote : "The growth of a territorial nobility without the embarrassing privileges of the feudatory princes, is much to be desired. Such an aristocracy would be conservative and may, if multiplied, become a tower of strength against the professional agitators and disaffected classes." He had realised the truth of the principle which Lord Lytton made the cornerstone of his internal policy—that in India the mass of the people will,

in time of trouble, follow their chiefs, their natural leaders, and that, so long as the latter are on the side of the British Government, no agitation, if firmly met, will ever make serious headway, but that if the mass of the chiefs were alienated, a touch might shake the British Empire to its foundations.

The question of the reorganisation of the Indian Army was one which appealed to Ardagh, both as a military reformer and a practical soldier. He saw "that all who, since the Mutiny, have written upon the subject of remodelling the Indian Army have been, wittingly or unconsciously, influenced by a tenderness for the old Presidential Commands," and that "the Four Army Corps Project was expected to meet with less opposition, because it left untouched in name the Bombay and Madras Command." "If we look to practical requirements," he adds, "the Army Corps, as an organised unit, seems to be really unnecessary, either in peace or war. An organisation in Divisions, each complete in all arms, would subserve our purposes better."

His coolly critical mind, unbiassed by the effects of previous service in India, enabled him to judge with certainty and precision the changes rendered necessary by the events of the last thirty years. The theory of "water-tight compartments," born of the experience of the Mutiny, was dead, slain by inexorable facts: a frontier touching that of a great, unscrupulous, and



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

aggressive European Power ; a network of strategic railways, and last, but not least, the enervating effect of a hundred years of peace on soft and naturally unwarlike races. The old Presidential armies were doomed, but there were many soldiers of the old school, even many young men, who looked with dismay on the fundamental change, the revolution, which such an admission involved.

But Ardagh had no doubts and wrote :

It is essential that the native army should be recruited from among the races having recent military traditions and a warlike spirit. High-caste and frontier tribes, particularly those resident in the hills, in contradistinction to the plains, are to be preferred. Low-caste inhabitants of the plains and people who have enjoyed a long immunity from war are to be avoided.

As the military spirit of a district decays from a long reign of peace and prosperity and from the increasing attractions of other pursuits, the field of recruiting must be changed, and, if needful, the organisation of the local units. There can be no finality in territorial distribution. The recruiting ground must follow the best material, and the stations must be suited to the military exigencies of the time.

The principles thus clearly laid down have been fully accepted during the gradual changes in the Indian Army, culminating in Lord Kitchener's reform, carried out ten years after the above notes were written.

Intimately connected with the question of the reorganisation of the Indian Army is that of

officering it with the right class of men and of retaining in India a large number of Royal Engineer officers, who shall be available as a reserve in case of war with a great European Power on the frontiers of India. On these and kindred questions, or recruiting for the Indian Civil Service and for the political department, the great department which, directly under the Viceroy, watches over the concerns of eighty millions of people, forming the population of the Native States, Ardagh wrote notes which deserve to be studied by all those responsible for the safe rule of our great dependency. He pointed out that the Indian Army was largely officered by a class which is practically forced into it by poverty—a fact which does not necessarily entail the possession of brains—and he was very anxious that steps should be taken which would ensure that both the civil and military services should have the pick of the rising generation of the empire. He did not shrink, though an engineer himself, from urging, for example, the great advantage which should accrue to the State if the political service were thrown open to officers of the Royal Engineers as well as to officers of the Indian Army and recruits attracted for practically permanent service in India from that highly gifted corps.

Space does not admit of printing Colonel Ardagh's deliberately reasoned state papers on the broad questions of external policy as regards India, though many of these exist, as also on cognate

questions of interior frontier policy, protection of frontier States, extensions of railways, etc., which are of great interest. But one paper only—on the establishment of a frontier province, separated from the Punjab and comprising the frontier from Gilgit to Beluchistan—may be taken as an example. On this subject he wrote repeatedly, urging the severance of the trans-Indus districts from the rule of the Punjab and pointing out that “the organisation of a long-settled province, like the Punjab, with elaborate revenue and judicial systems, seems to be altogether unsuited to the requirements of the case. A benevolent despotism will be better adapted to the rule and patriarchal customs of the people.” He urged the creation of a new province, “placed under one head directly responsible to the Viceroy.” The scheme had been fathered by Lord Lytton, warmly backed by Lord Dufferin, and was also supported by Lord Lansdowne, but it was not carried through until Lord Curzon’s time, and then on the lines recommended by Ardagh. On this point his admirable common sense enabled him to brush aside all arguments entangled in red tape, as it helped him, with irrefutable logic, to crush inflated schemes of railway or territorial extension.

In 1893 the terrible results to India of the continued depreciation in the exchange value of the rupee brought matters to a head, and the Government suddenly closed the mints to the

free coinage of silver, a step of which the experience of fifteen years has proved the soundness and efficacy. Ardagh, who had thoroughly studied currency questions, his mathematical mind finding pleasure in this abstruse science, naturally took a deep interest in the subject, avowing himself a confirmed bimetallist. He wrote in July 1893 :

You will have noticed that we have perpetrated a financial *coup d'état* in closing the Indian mints to the coinage of silver, by an Act passed at a single sitting. This question of currency has been a burning one in India for many years and has brought us within a measurable distance of State bankruptcy. We were very apprehensive lest America should take the lead in "belling the cat" and summarily revoke the Sherman act, the effect of which would have been to send down silver to a lower level than it had ever reached, and we observe with sympathy the wild fluctuations our well-concealed and sudden act has produced in Wall Street.

He pointed out the connection between the abolition of bimetallism in 1873 and the decline of the agricultural interests in Ireland and, in a lesser degree, in England, together with its effect in India, and concluded :

So it might be said that the Franco-German War was the prime cause which brought Ireland to the verge of separation and India to the verge of bankruptcy ; for it was the French indemnity which enabled Germany to adopt a gold coinage as currency and it was the action of Germany which induced the "Latin Union" to abandon bimetallism.

The foregoing pages, necessarily in a very condensed form, give some idea of the multifarious interests of Ardagh's work. As for his recreations, they consisted mainly in sketching, and hundreds of water-colour drawings, the architectural subjects so tempting in India being of special value and beauty, show his power of utilising the brief moments of leisure which his busy day contained. The following is an extract from a letter written by Lord Lansdowne on board the *Warren Hastings*, on January 27, 1894, the day he had laid down the Viceroyalty : " I can never thank you enough for the thoroughness, patience, and loyalty with which you have helped me." It is a fitting tribute to his character and ability.

In April 1894 he sailed from India, where he left behind him not only attached friends, but the reputation of having been an admirable private secretary.

CHAPTER XVII

INDIA, ETC.

1892—6

Ordered home—A funeral feast—The defence of London—Canton—*Namoa* Case—Penang—Trouble with the Amir—Indian frontiers—Possessions beyond the sea—Cruise to the Crimea—Interview with the Sultan—Character of the Sultan—Policy of the Sultan—Glynllivon—Commandant, S.M.E., Chatham—Marriage.

TO the foregoing chapter I must add a few further details so as to complete, as far as possible, the picture of this part of Colonel Ardagh's life.

The Simla season of 1891 had affected, more seriously even than usual, his general health. The altitude had never suited him and the social ties inseparable from his position, when added to his official work, began to fatigue him. The climate of Calcutta, which most people found trying, seems to have agreed with him, for while there he managed to put on part, at least, of the weight which he invariably lost at the former station. In a letter to Sir Arthur Godley¹ he refers to the high pressure at which the private secretary to the Viceroy lives: "He never gets leave, nor indeed even a holiday on Sunday or a quiet evening."

¹ Sir Arthur Godley, G.C.B., Under-Secretary of State for India.



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

p. 250]

TRE PONGÍ AND NANDA'DEVÍ, FROM THE SNOW SEAT, NAINÍ TAL, ETC. 15,000 FEET OF SNOW.

Lord Lansdowne, who in one of his public speeches described his private secretary as the breakwater without which he would be overwhelmed by a flood of correspondence, advised him more than once to consider his health and give more time to exercise, but every day some fresh question clamoured for attention and his strong sense of duty impelled him to work incessantly. He grew thinner and thinner, and the doctors at last gave him stringent orders to take complete rest and to remain out of India for eight months at least. In January 1892 he was made a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, and on March 24 he sailed for home. On his arrival in London he was ordered by Sir Joseph Fayrer to take a cure at Carlsbad. I was at that time living in London, and he came to see me before he left. The change which hard work and a hot climate had made in my dear friend grieved me deeply. He looked fever-stricken, and was so weak that I felt afraid I might never see him again.

My fears were not realised, for he enjoyed his stay at Carlsbad, where he found plenty of friends, returned to England much improved in appearance by the middle of July, and paid a visit to Sir Evelyn Wood,¹ then commanding at Aldershot. His note-book records that he saw a great deal of the summer manœuvres and that on the 30th of that month he and Sir Andrew Scoble (member

¹ F.-M. Sir Evelyn Wood, G.C.B. He was the author of the phrase, "Ardagh is the Moltke of the British Army."

of the Council of India) attended the wedding of Lady Evelyn Fitzmaurice¹ and Mr. Victor Cavendish, now Duke and Duchess of Devonshire.

For the further restoration of his health, Colonel Ardagh decided to return to Calcutta by America, Japan and China and thus complete his tour round the world. He started early in August. He wrote :

I dined with St. John Brodrick the night before my departure ; it was very pleasant to meet so many friends. To the politicians it was a cheerful funeral feast.² Stanhope, Fleetwood Wilson, Sir R. Thompson, General Fielding, Sir R. Alderson, Sir Redvers Buller, Mansfield Clarke, and Stuart Wortley were there. I had a long talk with Buller afterwards, mainly about the successor to Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief in India. The competition is a limited one. Buller has no desire for the appointment, but he said : " If I thought it would benefit my wife's health I would take it." Sir George White is strongly supported by Roberts.

Stanhope³ complimented me on what I had accomplished while at the Horse Guards last.

¹ Daughter of Lord and Lady Lansdowne.

² The Parliament of 1886 was dissolved by proclamation on June 26, 1892. The result of the general election was that neither Liberals nor Conservatives had a majority of the whole House, the balance being held by the Irish Party. Lord Salisbury resigned shortly afterwards and the Queen sent for Mr. Gladstone.

³ Writing in August, 1892, to Colonel Ardagh, Mr. Stanhope says : " I have a lively recollection of your work here, which was done at the time when we took up in earnest the preparations for home defence. A very great labour then fell to your share, but we all of us here, civil as well as military, were surprised at the rapid manner in which you got through it, and had every confidence in the way in which it was done."

All my pets were flourishing: the Defence of London was well in hand, many of the sites having been purchased and the projects having been prepared for putting the line in a state of defence. The mobilisation regulations were at last ready for publication and my friend and successor Grove was working on the same lines. I feel that a menace and a danger which has occasioned me anxiety during the whole of my career has at last been removed and that we are safe. The defenceless condition of the richest city in the world might have proved too strong a temptation to resist. Now the measures which I have originated will, I believe, give it security. In my opinion there has not been in the last thirty years a Secretary of State for War as ready as Mr. Stanhope to support progress in military matters. The defence of the coaling stations, armament of the fortresses, preparation for mobilisation, organisation of the Volunteers, besides what has already been mentioned, leave a very good record of work done.¹

It is unnecessary for me to follow Colonel Ardagh's journey step by step. I will only give the following extracts from his diary:

At Canton he found many of the Chinese troops still armed with bows and arrows, and did not think them likely to prove immediately dangerous to the peace of Europe. He sketched, as usual, both here and in America, but was disappointed in the scenery of the latter, which he considered inferior to Switzerland. I give his description of the

¹ Details of the schemes prepared by Colonel Ardagh while at the Horse Guards in 1888, and entitled *Defence of England and Defence of London*, will be found, with other Memoranda on the subject, at the War Office.

Hall at Canton, where the examinations were held, trusting that it may cause the exhausted victims of modern competition in England to be thankful for such mercies as are vouchsafed to them.

The great examination hall, where the competitive examinations for degrees are held, is a singular structure, capable of holding fourteen hundred students, I was told, each in a separate cell. It is planned in the following manner :

There are a vast number of parallel walls, about ten feet high and several hundred feet long. The spaces between them are divided into cells by other walls about five feet apart, having a passage three feet in width, which is patrolled by the superintendents of the examinations. In the separating walls of each cell are two pairs of grooves, one pair the height of a seat and the other that of a table. Planks made for the purpose slide into these grooves and are kept stored in sufficient numbers. There are no doors. During the whole period of the examination, *i.e.* several days, the students remain in these cells, except when allowed out under strict surveillance. Their friends may bring them food. The object of the individual seclusion is not quite clear, as it might be thought that an equally effective supervision could be exercised over the examinees in a hall.

For the prevalence of evil odours the streets of Canton are renowned. Many new and repulsive varieties forced themselves upon my notice. Shops for the sale of food, both raw and cooked, abounded everywhere and the odours were chiefly due to the refuse and offal resulting from the preparation of fish, flesh, fowl and vegetables, all the operations being conducted in public. Roast sucking-pig was evidently popular, and looked well. Puppy-dog was also common, but not so

attractive. The edible dog is fattened for his destiny and is said to be delicate and tender. Flesh of any sort is acceptable to the poorer classes in China ; even rats are exposed for sale and a coolie will not turn up his nose at a tiger or crocodile. Our representative, Sir John Walsham, and particularly Lady Walsham, are much liked, but perhaps the mercantile community are not sufficiently alive to the difficulties which he has experienced in conducting our relations with the Chinese. The merchant only thinks of coercion by gun-boat, to which our consuls were much addicted and which was practised with some success in the past. Now, however, there are various foreign interests which the Chinese can play off one against the other and we ourselves are anxious to secure the co-operation of China on our enormous Indian frontier, where, in Kashgar, Tibet and Yunan, they could help us in many ways, such as opposing the encroachments of Russia on the Pamirs, the French in the Hinterland of Tonkin, in keeping our Burmese frontier quiet, and promoting trade with Tibet.

Colonel Ardagh visited Macao and Hong Kong, where he found public opinion much excited on the subject of piracy, owing to the comparatively recent *Namoa* case, the plans for which were laid in Hong Kong. The culprits were captured eventually and had their heads cut off on the beach, just outside our boundary at Kowloon. "The profession of pirate," he adds, "is no longer what it was ; it has decayed before the vigilance of the foreign cruiser, and the *Namoa* case surprised everyone. The gang took their tickets as ordinary passengers, then held up the

crew, overpowered the passengers, and looted the ship."

From Penang he writes :

Penang was acquired in a singular way, if the story be true. A sea captain landed there to procure provisions and had the good luck to espy a tiger lying in wait, near the clothes of a lady who was bathing. He killed the tiger, but then a difficulty arose, as he had seen the lady and her honour was touched. There was no simpler way out of the embarrassment than to marry her, which he did, receiving as a dowry Penang, which he subsequently sold to the East India Company. Our other acquisitions in the Straits are trifling compared with the possession of Java, which was taken by Sir Thomas Auchmuty in 1811 during Lord Minto's tenure of the office of Governor-General, and given back to the Dutch by the peace of Paris in 1814. I have never understood why we bartered away this valuable conquest. In the olden days the East India Company had a factory at Bencoolen, which was given up in 1824, in exchange for the petty district of Malacca. Malacca remained under the Government of India until it was transferred to the Colonial Office.

Colonel Ardagh sailed from Penang for Calcutta, which he reached on November 19, a fortnight before the return of the Lansdownes. The time taken by Colonel Ardagh's trip round the world was 109 days, of which 48 were spent on ocean steamers. This would certainly not be some people's idea of "complete rest," but travelling, even in an express train at high speed, and moving from one place to another, even towards the close

of his life, appeared to soothe, instead of fatiguing, his active brain. To be in a train for many hours, "unmolested" as he used to put it, by the well-meant efforts of his friends to persuade him to take "exercise"—a thing he hated—was to him a form of enjoyment.

During his absence from India, Mr. Hewett¹ officiated in his stead and the hands of the acting private secretary were pretty full owing to the proceedings of the Amir of Afghanistan, who was doing his best to annoy the Government of India all along the frontier from the Pamirs to Khelat. It had been necessary to take a very peremptory line with him about his action in Bajour and Waziristan. He had likewise recommenced his abominable cruelties towards his subjects and had thereby drawn upon himself a severe rebuke.

Several of Colonel Ardagh's "pets," such as the Weights and Measures Bill, had advanced a stage ; others had gone to sleep for a while.

The private secretary to the Viceroy, if a civilian, practically never sees papers relating to military administration, but Colonel Ardagh, as a soldier, evidently did so, for he has left many interesting memoranda on the subject. These and other papers show clearly the chain of circumstances which bind the different portions of my husband's career one to another—a chain the links of which are riveted by the interdependence

¹ Now Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.

of our interests, as an empire, with those of Turkey ; with those thrust upon us by fate in Egypt—and again by the relationship of Egyptian affairs and necessities to the welfare of our Indian possessions.

I add in conclusion a few paragraphs from a lecture given by Sir John Ardagh at Dublin on the growth of our Indian frontiers, in 1895, after his return to Europe.

Since the Mutiny we have had the Umbela expedition in 1863, the Bhootan War in 1864, and many minor expeditions of less importance, none of which resulted in territorial accessions. The Afghan War in Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty led to an extension of our frontier to the Kojak range beyond Quetta, which has become a large military station and a fortified position. The Khan of Khelat, and the Baluch confederacy were subordinated and British influence extended to the Persian frontier. The Afghan frontier with Russia was fixed by a joint commission of English and Russian officers as far as the Oxus in 1885 ; and our own frontier with Afghanistan was settled by Sir Mortimer Durand's mission to Kabul in 1893. A post was established at Gilgit in 1889, and our influence extended over Hunza, Nagar, and Chitral. An expedition to Sikkim in 1888 led to a treaty with China, which is likely to improve our intercourse with Tibet.

In 1885 the atrocities and misconduct of the Burmese King, Thebaw, led to his deposition by Lord Dufferin, and the annexation of the kingdom of Ava, now called Upper Burma. Subsequently the great enclave of territory, chiefly forest and mountain, bounded by Assam and Manipur on the north, and extending like a wedge between



COLONEL ARDAGH, C.B., R.E., 1894.

Chittagong and Aracan on the west, and the settled districts of Burma on the east, was gradually brought into subjection. The process is hardly yet complete.

On the eastern side of Upper Burma, the long-disputed frontier separating it from the Chinese province of Yunan has been definitely settled during the current year.

An Anglo-French Boundary Commission is at this moment engaged in arranging the limits of a buffer state, which it has been decided to erect between Burma and Tonkin, in the neighbourhood of the River Mekong, to separate us from the territory recently exacted by France from Siam. Further south the boundaries between the Burmese Shan States and Siam are gradually being amicably settled. When these operations are complete, the frontiers of Burma, which had long been in a fluid condition, which favoured the existence of turbulence and commotions among the lawless and barbarous tribes inhabiting the disputed districts, will become definitely crystallised into form.

On the other side of India, the indefinite nature of the Afghan frontier line, which, in the past, led to a long series of border raids and punitive expeditions against the hill tribes, is now in process of accurate delimitation: not, however, without resistance on the part of the wild mountaineers of Waziristan, among whom, in the future, we may hope to find an excellent material for recruits.

On the extreme west of Baluchistan we are now laying down the frontier between that district and Persia.

Negotiations have for some time been in progress with Russia for a definite settlement of our mutual spheres of influence in the region of the Pamirs contiguous with the Chinese Empire.

With the exception of mountain districts to the north and east of Assam, as yet imperfectly explored, the whole frontier of India, from Persia to the Malay Peninsula, has been, within the last few years, or is now being, accurately delimited, and our boundaries with our neighbours, so long undefined, are now approaching final settlement. There are still within our borders—beyond the Indus and the Kabul River, and in Western Baluchistan—some wild and mountainous regions in which outbreaks of turbulence may still for some time occur; but the old policy of non-interference with the tribes until their raids and atrocities provoked us into sending punitive expeditions, to inflict retaliatory injuries, and then to withdraw, is now drawing to an end; and the little wars which have been such a drain on Indian finance will, it may be hoped, soon become ancient history, like the operations against the Pindarees, the Thugs, and the Dacoits.

This concludes the review of the growth of our Indian land frontiers, but a few words may be added regarding Indian possessions beyond the seas.

Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements, once under India, are now separate colonies. So is Mauritius. Aden, which was occupied in 1839, has, since the opening of the Suez Canal, become an important commercial port, the Clapham Junction of the Arabian Sea. Perim, in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, is a coaling station much resorted to. When the Somali coast was abandoned by Egypt in 1884, the ports of Zeila, Berbera, and Bulhar, from whence the provisions required by Aden are chiefly drawn, were occupied by the Government of India, and we have arranged with France, and are now arranging with Italy, the boundaries of our respective spheres of influence in the "hinterland" of the Somali coast.

For many years it has been found necessary, for the protection of maritime commerce against piracy and for the suppression of the slave trade, to exercise control over the Hadramaut coast of Arabia and the western shore of the Persian Gulf, as far north as Bahrein and the peninsula of El Katr. Suitable treaties have been entered into by the Government of India with the local sultans and chiefs, conferring upon us appropriate rights and duties. The island of Socotra has also recently been brought within our sphere of influence.

From April 1894 to April 1895 Colonel Ardagh was on half-pay and enjoyed the, to him, unusual sensation of freedom and rest from work.

He arrived in England on May 23, and remained in London until the middle of August, when he joined Sir John Pender's party at Genoa on board his steam-yacht *Electra*, bound for the Crimea. The guests on this occasion were Sir Evelyn Wood, Mr. James Pender, Lord Portsmouth, Mr. Bayard (American Ambassador), Lord Wolseley, Lord Kelvin and the late Sir John Mowbray. They went ashore at Syra, Constantinople, Sevastopol, Odessa and Athens. Sir John Ardagh, who had just received a K.C.I.E. as an acknowledgment of his services in India, gave an interesting lecture on the Alma, whither the party travelled from Sevastopol over twenty miles of very rough road. They returned to Constantinople viâ Odessa and had an audience of the Sultan at the Selamlık.

The Sultan received them graciously and said

a few civil words to each in turn, through the interpreter. One of the party, however, addressed him directly in English and, in a kindly but unceremonious way, placed his hand upon the Sultan's shoulder. This created instant alarm and consternation, the more so, probably, because an attempt had recently been made on the life of the Queen; but, it being immediately apparent that no physical violence was intended, the attendants, hastily summoned by a bell, were as hastily dismissed. Sir John Pender and his friends dined at the English and American Embassies and, after visiting Athens and the Gulf of Corinth, returned to Genoa, where they separated.

Writing from Constantinople, Sir John Ardagh remarks on the grave deterioration which had taken place in the Turkish fleet since the war with Russia in 1877.¹ At the close of that war Turkey still commanded the Black Sea, and the few vessels possessed by Russia in those waters could scarcely be dignified by the name of a squadron. Since then the Ottoman Navy had steadily gone down, while Russia had at least five powerful battleships in the Black Sea, with a due proportion of cruisers and torpedo-boats, which, at the time of Sir John Ardagh's visit to Sevastopol, were engaged in practice manœuvres and displayed, for the benefit of the yachting party, a

¹ See p. 115 for Captain Ardagh's forecast on the subject in 1879.

sham attack on the defences of that port, which had been recently and effectively remodelled on the sea side.¹

Sir John considered that, the command of the sea having passed from Turkey to Russia, the Buyuk-Tchekmedjé-Derkos defences, as surveyed by him in 1876 and subsequently carried out, but which the Sultan had neglected to strengthen in accordance with more modern requirements, had practically become obsolete.

The Sultan [he continues] has neither intellectual capacity nor moral fibre, but he is amply endowed with that intuitive craftiness and astuteness which is not unusual in the East. Apprehension as to his personal safety is the keynote of his conduct. He trusts no one, but, by an elaborate system of espionage, causes all persons of consequence in his dominions to be watched and their movements and conversation to be reported. He interferes in the most trivial details of administration and has reduced his officials to such a complete state of dependence on his will that nothing can be ordered or done without

¹ The German military papers at the time were full of suspicion with regard to the intentions of "Lord Wolseley, Lord Wood and Lord Ardagh," and could not believe in the story of a mere pleasure cruise. The two first they knew by reputation, but the last was still a dark horse to them and they watched him with care. A newspaper cutting on the subject was forwarded to the Intelligence Department by a military attaché, who frivolously endorsed it: "Voilà ce qu'on lit de vous dans la *Gazette de Hollande*!" The overworked staff at Headquarters had little time for *opéra bouffe*, and did not recognise this quotation from Offenbach's *Grande Duchesse*, but after much research gravely replied that they could not find out where the *Gazette de Hollande* was published!

his initiative. Although extremely superstitious, he is cunning enough not to give any encouragement to religious fanaticism, recollecting, no doubt, the influence of the Softas in the time of his predecessor.

His first preoccupation is to keep power entirely in his own hands, and to make his ministers, his military commanders and his civil government entirely dependent upon him, which he has succeeded in doing in a remarkable degree.

His army he is compelled to trust to a certain extent ; but he cannot be induced to pay any attention to his navy. The principal vessels of his fleet used formerly to lie opposite his palace in the Bosphorus, but for some years they have been withdrawn into the Golden Horn above the bridge. It is said that the Sultan cannot brook the idea of an Admiral having the command of a powerful fleet in an independent position, apprehending that any force not immediately under his hand might be used to oust him from power, or might be delivered to his enemies. Whatever the motive may be, the fact is patent, that the naval power of Turkey has practically ceased to exist. . . . The Ottoman rule of inheritance by the eldest male will exclude his own son and the expedient, formerly resorted to, of assuring the succession to his own children by the extirpation of other claimants, has not commended itself to him. He has no one to consider but himself, and if he believes that subserviency to Russia will secure his life-tenure of the Caliphate, that belief would be sufficient to account for his sacrificing his country's interests to his own.

Subsequent events have shown that the policy of combined neglect and espionage, often alluded to by Captain Ardagh in the earlier portions of

his diaries, and again reverted to here, has borne its natural fruit in the recent revolution of the Young Turks.

After his return to England Sir John Ardagh paid various visits—among others to Minto, to Abbeyleix and to Lord Wolseley¹ in Dublin, where he delivered the lecture on our Indian frontiers, part of which has been quoted on pages 258-61. Finally he went to Glynllivon to stay with his friend Mr. Wynn,² whom he had first met in 1877 at Alexandria. Sir John was deeply attached to Glynllivon, Fort Belan and Bodfean, three beautiful places in Carnarvonshire, all belonging to the same owner, with whom he also shared a love of the sea. He knew almost every man, woman and child on the property, which covers a considerable part of the county, and he was continually devising schemes and drawing plans for its improvement.

On the south-east side of the terrace at the back of Glynllivon on a high sloping bank of green turf a sun-dial was constructed, from plans carefully drawn by Sir John. Its gnomon is a girder of three-inch T iron thirty feet in length; the dial has a diameter of about twelve yards; the figures placed in the grass are three feet long and it is said that this sun-dial is the third largest in the world. As, however, it could

¹ Then Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.

² The Hon. Frederick Wynn, son of the third Baron Newborough.

only show local time, Sir John worked out a table of figures in minutes, which were engraved on a marble tablet and affixed to a wall close at hand. By adding these figures to the hour recorded on the dial Greenwich time is obtained.

Fort Belan lies at the entrance to the Menai Straits and here Mr. Wynn kept a couple of yachts in which Sir John enjoyed many a pleasant and health-giving cruise. He designed a new drawbridge for the fort, procured guns and superintended their mounting on the ramparts for the purpose of firing salutes in time of peace, or for defensive purposes in case of war.

In March 1895, Sir John Ardagh returned to town and in April of the same year was appointed Commandant of the School of Military Engineering at Chatham. In June he took a few days' leave and went with Sir John Pender in the *Mirror* to Kehl for the opening of the North Sea Canal.

An entry in his diary during the month of October records our engagement and in February 1896 we were married in London. The crowd at our wedding was enormous, composed as it was of many of Sir John Ardagh's brother officers and friends from every part of the world, as well as my own much more restricted circle. My house was a small one and some of the guests were unable to get out through the front door, owing to the crush, but had to make good their retreat by the area gate, as did also, unfortunately,



1. Lord Alexander Gordon Lennox, A.D.C. 2. General Sir Reginald Gipps, Military Secretary. 3. General Sir Francis Grenfell.
4. Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief. 5. Colonel Viscount Downe. 6. Colonel Sir John Ardagh.
7. Colonel George Fitzgeorge. 8. Major Davidson.

F.-M. H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, WITH HIS PERSONAL STAFF,
ON THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY, 1895.

in the confusion caused by the crowd, some of our wedding presents. The thief was afterwards caught and they were recovered.

In answering a letter of congratulation from the Dean of Westminster, who married us, with the help of Canon, now Archdeacon, Wilberforce, Sir John Ardagh expresses what we both felt at this moment of our lives : “ We have known each other, as children say, for ever so long, and it seems to me a crowning blessing that we shall at last cement our long friendship by a closer tie.”

CHAPTER XVII

THE INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

1896-1901

Difficulties of Intelligence work—The Naval factor—Limitations—War Office Reorganisation—Functions of D.M.I.—Defects in his position—Relations with Lord Lansdowne—Relations with Headquarters Staff—Distribution of Duties—Sir William Everett—Relations with Admiralty—Defence Committee—Proximity of Downing Street—Relations with Downing Street—The Confidence of F.O. and C.O.—Military advice to F.O. and C.O.—Frontier questions—Frontier disputes—Confidential Work—Grave strategical anxieties—The French misunderstanding—Problem of the Far East—America and Australia—Thirty small wars—International cables—Cable-landing Rights Committee—Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee—State purchase of cables—All-British cable routes—Strategic lines—Value of Special Committees.

ON March 27, 1896, Colonel Sir John Ardagh was officially notified by the Adjutant-General that Her Majesty the Queen had been graciously pleased to approve of his being appointed Director of Military Intelligence at headquarters, from April 1, with temporary rank of Major-General, while so employed.¹ He took over, accord-

¹ Sir John was promoted to the substantive rank of Major-General, R.E., in March 1898.

ingly on that day, the weighty burden of that office from Lieutenant-General E. H. Chapman, who had succeeded the first Director of Military Intelligence, Sir Henry Brackenbury, in 1891.

The difficulty of the task of an Intelligence Staff, especially that of the British Army, is twofold. In the first place, the interests of an empire with possessions scattered over five continents are so far-reaching and so diverse as to require the study of military problems relating to almost every portion of the world. The wars in which British troops have fought during the last hundred years have involved operations in every sort of climate, tropical, temperate or frigid. The enemy has ranged from the Imperial Guard of Napoleon to savage tribes armed with poisoned arrows and spears.

Sir John Ardagh, in one of those remarkable minutes which flowed so easily from his pen, once recorded the opinion "that the most important duty of an Intelligence Department is foresight." But the British Intelligence Department has always been faced with the consideration that in exercising foresight it must take the whole inhabited world into its ken. Few States have more than one, or at the most two, strategical frontiers to watch. The frontiers of the British Empire are conterminous with, or in close proximity to, the territory of almost every fighting Power in the world, civilised or savage.

But there is another factor, enhancing the

complexity of the task which Sir John Ardagh accepted. The vital strategical problems confronting the majority of the great Powers are as a rule either wholly military or wholly naval. But with an island empire such as ours, sea-power is essential to success in the whole of our military over-sea operations. The strategical staff of the British Army cannot, therefore, safely rely on their own independent judgment; they must continually take counsel with the sister service, and make sure that the demands which their plans may entail on that service for co-operation and assistance can be met step by step.

But, secondly, an Intelligence Staff is hampered not only by the multiplicity of its problems, but also by certain inevitable limitations to its information. Rarely indeed is it possible to obtain direct evidence as to such vital matters as the plan of campaign an enemy intends to adopt, the period he needs to complete mobilisation, the fighting value of his troops, and the individual capacity of their leaders. Right conclusions can, as a rule, only be arrived at on such matters by deductions from more or less imperfect groups of facts bearing on them. The true genius of the skilful Intelligence Officer lies, therefore, not so much in the collation of information, for that is only a question of method, industry, and money, but rather in the piecing together of information, the deducing therefrom of the right conclusion, and the devising of a plan of action

which may reap the full benefit of the situation thus appreciated.

Finally, the good Intelligence Officer can seldom hope to find his work, as a whole, understood or its magnitude realised. Occasionally the events of a great war may render it desirable that all the preparations for it should be examined and made public ; but, for one piece of Intelligence work which is thus held up in the light of the sun for all men to gaze on, there will always be hundreds which lie for ever buried in safes or despatch-boxes ; still-born children, perfect it may be, and yet unknown to every one except their author and his immediate superior.

The neglect of military organisation, which marked the decades immediately following Waterloo, and the gradual total immersion of the staff of the British Army in purely administrative work are matters clearly set forth in a statement laid before the Royal Commission on the South African War,¹ and need not be repeated here. The experiences of the Crimea recalled to the mind of the Government the value of informations, and a small " Topographical and Statistical Department " was started. Eventually (1871) this branch was given a home at Queen Anne's Gate, and was recognised as part of the Headquarters Staff, though still regarded somewhat as a foundling and tossed backwards and forwards

¹ Sir W. Nicholson's reply to question 18189 of the Royal Commission.

between the Quartermaster-General's and Adjutant-General's Departments at various periods of War Office reform. Yet the branch grew steadily, and under Sir Henry Brackenbury gave life to that mobilisation sub-division, the value of whose work has been already touched on in Chapter XV.

Six months before Sir John Ardagh assumed office as Director of Military Intelligence, the position of the Intelligence branch was again materially changed by the reorganisation of the War Office resulting from the report of the Hartington Commission. The recommendations of that report were not, it will be remembered, wholly accepted by the Salisbury Cabinet, which took office after the defeat of the Liberal Government over the Cordite question, but the changes made in Pall Mall were, nevertheless, drastic. The Commander-in-Chief, instead of being directly responsible for the work of the whole of the military departments, was charged only with their general supervision, being termed "the principal adviser of the Secretary of State on all military questions." The special responsibilities of the Commander-in-Chief's Department comprised—in addition to his general duties—the distribution of the Army, mobilisation plans, the preparation of schemes of offence and defence, the collection and compilation of military information, and military appointments, promotions and rewards.

The Commander-in-Chief's Department was divided into three branches: the Military Secre-

tary's Division, the Mobilisation subdivision, and the Intelligence Division. The functions of the Intelligence Division were thus defined: "The Director of Military Intelligence deals with the preparation of information relating to the military defence of the empire and the strategical consideration of all schemes of defence; the collection and distribution of information relating to the military geography, resources, and armed forces of foreign countries, and of the British colonies and its possessions; the compilation of maps and the translation of foreign documents. He conducts correspondence with other departments of the State on defence questions, and is authorised to correspond with them semi-officially on all subjects connected with his duties."

It is evident that this statement of the Director of Military Intelligence's duties had been elaborated with considerable care, but in the light of after-events it appears to be an unfortunate omission that neither he nor any other of the Commander-in-Chief's Staff had specifically assigned to them the task of assisting Lord Wolseley in perhaps the most important of all the duties of his department, the strategical distribution of the Army and the preparations of schemes of plans of war. It was, undoubtedly, the intention of the Government, when sanctioning this reorganisation of the War Office, to relieve the Commander-in-Chief of the heavy burden of administrative work, in order that he might

devote his time and energies definitely to preparation for war. But the details of the change had not been worked out with sufficient fullness. The preparation of schemes for military operations is a duty which, above all others, requires close study by a staff of specially qualified officers. To leave it to be sandwiched into the spare moments of an exceedingly busy individual, however high in rank, and however distinguished a soldier, was an oversight the more strange inasmuch as in the Intelligence Division there already existed the nucleus of the Staff required to do the work. All that was requisite was its augmentation and the official assignment to it of that responsibility under the Commander-in-Chief's orders.

But apart from this omission, there was another defect, due in part no doubt to the insufficiency of accommodation in the old War Office. If the Commander-in-Chief was to carry out the design of the Government and devote his principal attention to war preparation, it was essential to the successful fulfilment of that task that he should have at hand at all times information as to the military resources of the empire and of its possible foes. Of all the Headquarters Staff the Director of Intelligence was therefore the man most needed to be in close touch with the Commander-in-Chief, and at his call for reference or advice at a moment's notice. Yet the Intelligence Division was left isolated in Queen Anne's Gate, on the far side of St. James's Park, while

Lord Wolseley sat in Pall Mall, surrounded by the Administrative Staff, and thus exposed to the risk of being over-weighted, as his predecessor had been, by the details of administrative work. That this risk would affect in a special degree the new Commander-in-Chief could have been foreseen, for neither then nor subsequently did he make any secret of his personal belief in the old system of co-ordinating military administration by placing its reins in the hands of one supreme military chief, nor did he conceal his disapproval of the change which made the Adjutant-General the Quartermaster-General, the Director-General of Ordnance, and the Inspector-General of Fortifications, each separately and directly responsible to the Secretary of State for their respective departments.

But though these difficulties faced the new Director of Military Intelligence on his taking up his appointment, he was, on the other hand, singularly fortunate in the important matter of his personal relations with the superiors under whose orders he was about to work, and with his colleagues presiding over other departments in Pall Mall. In Lord Lansdowne, who served his apprenticeship at the War Office in 1872 as Under-Secretary, and had returned there in May 1895 as Secretary of State, Sir John found an old chief, whose complete trust and confidence he had won during their period of close service together in India in the relationships of Viceroy

and Private Secretary. It would, perhaps, have been of advantage to the Government and the nation in the coming time of stress and strain, had the machinery of the War Office, as then constituted, permitted the Secretary of State for War to renew officially direct touch with his former Private Secretary. Be that as it may, Sir John, personally and privately, had always the happiness of receiving constant support and never-failing sympathy and kindness at the hands of Lord Lansdowne during the whole period of the latter's reign in Pall Mall.

Equally happy were the relations of Sir John Ardagh with the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Wolseley had long regarded him as a personal friend. Ardagh had served him in Egypt, and had done invaluable work under him at the War Office in 1887-8. Sir John's exceptional qualifications for the position of head of the Intelligence Department were well known to Lord Wolseley, who, in a private letter advising as to Ardagh's future career, written in 1892, had then foretold his selection for that position on the next vacancy. Since that date the two had been in intimate correspondence, and the regard between them had been strengthened by mutual service rendered and received. No less fortunate was Ardagh in his colleagues. Sir Redvers Buller (Adjutant-General) and Sir Evelyn Wood (Quartermaster-General, soon to succeed to the post of Adjutant-General) were old Egyptian comrades. Sir Henry

Brackenbury, the Director-General of Ordnance, a former chief of the Intelligence Division, and a member of the Hartington Commission, knew, better than any other officer in the Army, the vital importance of Intelligence work and the difficulties of its Director. In Major-General Coleridge Grove, then Military Secretary, Ardagh had a thoroughly sympathetic and staunch friend.

The Intelligence Division in 1896, and for the five subsequent years until the reorganisation of the War Office in 1901, was divided into seven sections. Of these one—the Colonial Section—dealt with Imperial Defence, and was further responsible for the collation and distribution of information concerning the military geography, resources, and armed forces of the whole of the British Colonies, Protectorates, and spheres of influence, and of the two South African Republics. Every defence scheme throughout the empire was examined and criticised by this section, and its remarks thereon submitted for the Director's consideration. Every small war within the compass of any part of the empire, other than India was followed with the care necessary to ensure that information was immediately forthcoming on which the Director could give an accurate appreciation of the situation and sound advice, should some sudden development or unforeseen check call for an immediate decision on the part of the Government as to the despatch of reinforcements, or the cabling of orders to the officer

in command. The strategical consideration of projects for new cables, the defence of naval bases, the study of various complicated points relating to the limitation of frontiers in dispute between Great Britain and other foreign Powers, a detailed knowledge of the various local forces maintained by the British Colonies, both Crown and self-governing, and finally a constant watch on the growing cloud in South Africa and the duty of warning and preparing for that fast-approaching storm—all these additional duties fell to the lot of the Colonial Section, whose complete establishment of workers was limited to two officers, an occasional attached officer, and one military clerk.

The four foreign sections of the division were similarly under-manned, each having only two officers and a clerk—a staff quite inadequate to their far-reaching responsibilities. Thus, one section had the task of collecting information concerning the military geography, resources, and troops of the Russian Empire, and of almost the whole of Asia, including all India, Persia, Afghanistan, Burmah, the Chinese Empire and Japan. To another section the five Latin States of Europe and the whole of South America were entrusted. A third combined Germany with the United States and had five minor European States thrown in. To a fourth were assigned Egypt, Eastern Europe (exclusive of Russia), the Congo Free State, and all parts of Africa still under native rule.

The criticism which subsequently fell on the Intelligence Division as to the maps provided for the South African campaign makes it of special interest to note the personnel of the mapping section, whose official duties were stated in the War Office list of the period to be "maps for military purposes, issue of maps, except Ordnance survey, consideration of frontier questions."

It has already been pointed out that there is no quarter of the world in which British troops have not fought, and may not, conceivably, have to fight again. Yet three officers, a map curator, and eleven draughtsmen were expected to make provision of maps in peace time for any or all of these contingencies.

Seriously under-manned though the Intelligence Division was at this time, it had at least the advantage of a good equipment in books. An admirable military library had been gradually accumulated at 18, Queen Anne's Gate, and its staff of Librarian and Assistant Librarian formed a seventh section, which, besides the work of cataloguing and issuing its books, dealt also with all reference questions.

In the general supervision of these seven sections, each over-burdened with its extraordinary diversity of work and multitudinous problems, Sir John Ardagh was aided by an Assistant Adjutant-General, Colonel W. Everett,¹

¹ Colonel Everett was created a K.C.M.G. two years later for his services in connection with the treaty delimitating the frontiers in West Africa, 1898, and died in 1908.

an officer in whom unfailing industry and a special skill in unravelling the complicated tangle of frontier questions were united with a charm of manner of the utmost value in dealing with the high officials of other departments of the State, and in the semi-diplomatic work on which the staff of the Intelligence Division were from time to time employed by the Government. But a single sub-chief, however well qualified, could do but little to ease the heavy burden which fell on Ardagh's own shoulders.

The Division existed, of course, primarily for army purposes, and military responsibilities formed its first charge; but, in addition to these, it had also close connection and constant communication with other State departments, especially with the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and the Colonial Office. As regards the first of these, it has been at times asserted that, prior to the reconstitution of the Imperial Defence Committee, a gulf existed between Whitehall and Pall Mall, across which there was no means of communication or of exchange of ideas on defence questions affecting both services. But this is an erroneous impression; not only were the Naval and Military Intelligence Departments, both chiefs and subordinates, in close and constant touch with each other both before and during Sir John Ardagh's term of service as D.M.I., but in the joint Naval and Military Committee on Defence and the Colonial Defence Committee machinery existed,

and was in constant use, for the deliberate joint discussion of defence problems in which the Navy and Army were concerned, and for the formulating and presenting to the Government the considered opinions of its responsible naval and military advisers. It is true that there were defects in this machinery, and that its energies were almost entirely confined to one subject—that of coast defence—but these two Committees were none the less of value, and their results have been of permanent benefit to the empire. The Directors of Naval Intelligence and Military Intelligence both sat on these two consultative bodies. In the joint Naval and Military Committee they were somewhat overshadowed by their colleagues, the Senior Naval Lord and other high officials of the Admiralty, and by the Adjutant-General, the Inspector-General of Fortifications and Director-General of Ordnance from the War Office; but, as a matter of fact, the Naval and Military Committee, composed as it was mainly of men charged with heavy administrative responsibilities, were only intended to lay down general principles and general policy, and but seldom came together. The main work of practically co-ordinating naval and military ideas as to coast defence fell on the Colonial Defence Committee, and on that Committee the opinions of the D.N.I. and the D.M.I., and the information prepared by their respective staffs, ever carried dominant weight.

But close though the relations were between

the Military Intelligence Division and its sister department at Whitehall, Queen Anne's Gate maintained an even more constant and intimate connection with the Foreign and Colonial Offices.

The distance of the Division from Pall Mall was very disadvantageous to its all-important military work ; yet there was some compensation in the fact that Downing Street is but a few minutes' walk from Queen Anne's Gate, for into Downing Street daily and hourly pour the stream of reports from Ambassadors, Consuls, Governors, Agents, and other officials, whose duty it is to keep the British Government in touch with events, not only in the empire itself, but in every portion of the world. Each of these reports is, of course, digested in due course by its own department, in the Foreign Office or Colonial Office, and, if necessary, submitted for the orders of the Secretary of State primarily concerned ; but if the use of the reports was confined only to immediate diplomatic or administrative action, much of their value would be lost. Penned as they are by keen observers on the spot, and emanating from the picked brains of the Civil Service, it is not surprising that many of these documents should be veritable gold-mines to an Intelligence staff. The information contained in each despatch bears, it is true, immediately on some particular question under discussion, but often it will have an indirect bearing on a strategical problem, or throw light on the naval and military resources of the British

Empire or of some other State. It is obvious that such papers afford great assistance, if placed in the hands of military experts and compared by them with information collated from other sources. It is a vital matter, therefore, for the Intelligence Department to possess the confidence of the Foreign and Colonial Offices, and thus gain the privilege of perusing and noting the contents of the more important of the despatches transmitted from abroad to these departments. The privilege is no light one, for the risk to the public service, if papers of such consequence were carelessly handled, would be great. The concession, therefore, must be merited to be granted.

Fortunately for Sir John Ardagh, the Intelligence Division had secured this confidence before he took up office as D.M.I., and was in full possession of all the advantages ensuing from it ; yet, without disparagement of his distinguished predecessors, it may be said that Ardagh succeeded during his term of office in deepening and widening the mutual trust between Queen Anne's Gate and the two great departments in Downing Street. His personality and intellectual gifts were, in fact, exactly calculated to attract the whole-hearted confidence of the most cautious statesmen and officials. A natural dislike for talking for mere talk's sake ; a gift for listening sympathetically to others ; a remarkable clearness of intellectual vision in unravelling a complicated situation or arriving at the right conclusion upon conflicting

or doubtful evidence ; an admirable lucidity of style in setting forth in plain, terse English his opinions and advice—all these personal endowments stamped Sir John Ardagh as a man to be trusted in the higher sense of the word. Every English gentleman can be depended upon not to betray a trust, but few are the men who can be confidently looked to always to make the best possible use of one.

This confidence conferred benefits on both sides, for the Foreign Office and Colonial Office were quick to recognise and take advantage of the fact that the close relations that had grown up between those offices and the Intelligence Division afforded direct access to reliable expert opinion, much needed to elucidate the military aspect of many of the problems of diplomacy and colonial administration. It is an axiom of sound state policy that diplomacy should keep step with national preparation for war, and it is perfectly true that, owing partly to the imperfect organisation of the Cabinet Committee of Defence, as then existing, partly to the imperfect recognition in the War Office of Intelligence work, and partly to other causes, this axiom was somewhat lost sight of in the months preceding the South African War. But in the many small expeditions and minor operations carried out under the authority of the Colonial Office and Foreign Office, these defects in the machinery of the State were for the most part remedied by the close intercourse

between those departments and Queen Anne's Gate. In Downing Street the importance of the study of, and clear thinking on, military questions was recognised. Sir John Ardagh was thus constantly consulted as to the strength, equipment, organisation and constitution of the local forces maintained in British Protectorates and Crown Colonies, and a decision was rarely taken as to the inception and conduct of military operations by those forces without his views being first obtained. This assistance was asked for and rendered by taking advantage of the direct semi-official communication allowed between Queen Anne's Gate and Downing Street ; for under the then existing organisation of the War Office, there was at that time always a possibility of a formal request for military advice, advanced officially by the Colonial Office or Foreign Office to the War Office, being answered by some official in Pall Mall without reference to the Intelligence Division, and with but very imperfect knowledge or appreciation of the matter under consideration.

But perhaps the most difficult and complicated of the questions which were thus referred by Downing Street direct to the Intelligence Division for observations and advice were those connected with international boundary disputes. Sir John Ardagh's advent to Queen Anne's Gate followed immediately the era of colonial expansion in North, East and West Africa. Vast unsurveyed and only very partially explored regions had been

parcelled out amongst themselves by the great European Powers, an unsurveyed river or mountain, a degree of latitude or longitude, or the limits of some native potentate's territory, being in many cases accepted as the international frontier dividing these new possessions, or rather spheres of influence, to use the euphemistic term which for the moment discreetly veiled the annexation by the white man of many a black Naboth's vineyard. This parcelling out of a continent had been for the most part effected by diplomatists gathered round tables many thousands of miles away, without information as to the regions they were dealing with, other than that afforded by the comparatively inaccurate small-scale sketch-maps, which were all that were at the time procurable. Treaties were thus drawn up, accepting as the boundaries of spheres of influence a degree of longitude; the bed of a river; the watershed of a range of hills; or the territorial limits of a local tribe. But when the development of the sphere of influence into Protectorates necessitated the practical interpretation of these definitions for administrative purposes, they were not infrequently found to be either hopelessly inadequate or founded on an entirely erroneous conception of the topography of the country. The watershed of the mountain range was unknown locally, and its determination doubtful. The river had several channels, and frequently varied its main channel. The degree

of longitude, when verified by actual astronomical observations, excluded from the sphere of influence some important area which it was the chief purpose of the treaty to include. The tribe proved to be a wandering pastoral community, the limits of whose territory varied with the seasons, and with the fighting capacity of its chief. If the area beyond the ill-defined frontier was no man's land, these difficulties naturally solved themselves; but if the frontier limit became an international boundary between the Protectorates of two great European Powers and, as time went on, owing to its strategical or political bearing drew upon it the public attention of both nations, the difficulties developed into an intricate international question, involving the possibility of European war.

The Foreign Office is in such matters the guardian of the nation's rights and honour. Upon that department rests the heavy responsibility of advising the Cabinet when to resist, even at the risk of war, and when to yield. But not only is the Foreign Office bound to seek expert advice as to the strategical aspect of such disputes, but it cannot hope to achieve success in the diplomatic struggle unless its representatives enjoy access to the best information and the best technical advice. For, be it said, to the credit of national diplomacy, that although, when national passions are roused, the disputant with a fleet and an army ready for war is the most

likely to induce his opponent to give way, yet in a great number of frontier disputes, including some of first-rate importance, sound arguments supported by precise knowledge win the case.

Theoretically, perhaps, it is open to question whether a Military Intelligence Department can, without risk of some diminution in the value of its purely military work, afford the men and time needed to assist the Foreign Office in these and similar matters; but, from a practical point of view, not only was the risk well worth running to gain the great advantages accruing from the confidence of the Foreign Office, but it was evident that there was no choice in the matter. It is the duty of every branch of the Government Service to serve the State as a whole, and to place its whole resources at the disposal of the Executive whenever called upon. The Intelligence Division was alone capable of affording the technical assistance needed by the Government in dealing with the many boundary questions which had to be faced during Sir John Ardagh's term of office, and, though this added substantially to his anxieties, at a time when the Intelligence Staff was notoriously undermanned and overworked, Ardagh was the last man to shrink from additional toil and responsibility, however heavy, on that plea.

It has seemed the more necessary to set out at some length the conditions under which Sir John Ardagh faced his five years' work at Queen Anne's

Gate, from 1899 to 1901, inasmuch as the work itself was of too confidential a nature, in many cases closely affecting the security of the Empire and its relations with other great Powers, to permit of its details being laid bare after so short an interval of years. The kaleidoscope of international politics changes, it is true, quickly. Some of the problems, which then seemed most doubtful, have been since solved, or at least appear for the present to have been disposed of ; other anxieties have passed away ; old misunderstandings and jealousies between State and State have been replaced by the mutual confidence and friendship of two great peoples. The problems which it behoves the General Staff in Whitehall to study to-day and the anxieties which they face, differ, it may be conjectured, both in character and circumstance, from those dealt with by the old Intelligence Division, under Sir John Ardagh's headship. The termination of the South African War, the *entente cordiale* arising from the Anglo-French Agreement of 1905, the results of the great War in the Far East, the federation of Australia, the good hope of federation in South Africa, are all matters which have affected in a decisive manner the political and strategical environment of the British Empire. They mark the close of an old, and the commencement of a new, chapter of its history. But the burial of the past, with its half-forgotten doubts, anxieties, and misunderstandings, has been too recent to admit of disinter-

ment and philosophical dissection at the hands of the historian.

For these reasons, while it has been thought of interest to set forth in general terms the nature of the duties which fell to Ardagh as Director of Military Intelligence, and the conditions under which he laboured, the greater portion of his personal work cannot now be discussed. It must suffice to recall to mind that his strenuous labour covered a period in which the political sky was overclouded, not once, but almost perpetually, by storm-clouds gathering, or threatening to gather, now in this quarter, now in that, each entailing unceasing vigilance on the part of the Intelligence Division, and not a few necessitating the difficult and thankless task of attempting to rouse attention to the inadequacy of the Empire's organised means of defence.

Of these storm-clouds, the two most menacing were first that which, commencing with the arming of the South African Republic after the Jameson Raid, culminated in 1899 in two and a half years of war, and the second, those disputes and diplomatic strivings with France which led to a series of critical situations both in East and West Africa.

Fashoda, though the best-known incident, was by no means the only place in the African Continent where British and French troops came into dangerous proximity on disputed territory, overlapping even the same village, and hoisting

their national flags almost within pistol-shot of each other. It is not too much to say that, to the good judgment, good temper and forbearance of the British and French officers who commanded those troops under such extraordinary circumstances, must be chiefly attributed the prevention of war. For behind these local disputes lay other and greater misunderstandings. Happily the local disputes were settled by the treaty with France of 1898, and the graver misunderstandings cleared up and finally disposed of by the Anglo-French Agreement of six years later. But it can be easily understood that the tension which culminated at Fashoda entailed on Sir John Ardagh and his staff anxieties and work which, for a time, made even the increasing gravity of the situation in South Africa seem a minor issue.

But the South African problem and the danger of France and Great Britain clashing in their not illegitimate desire to open up the Dark Continent were not the only causes which entailed protracted labour at Queen Anne's Gate. In North Africa Lord Kitchener's strong personality was organising an assured triumph, though the operations which, by the brilliant strokes of Atbara and Omdurman, freed the Sudan finally from the Mahdi's tyranny, required, it is true, only observation and record, and gave but slender grounds for anxiety. But in the Far East, China, after centuries of slumber, appeared to be sinking into a final death-sleep, and

the European eagles, gathered for the spoil of the great carcase, were already clutching at their prey, each eyeing jealously his neighbour's first mouthful, and none foreseeing that the immediate future would be determined by that little island Power on the shores of the Pacific which had itself only just emerged from mediæval seclusion. For the moment, it was thought by all the West that a great inheritance lay ready for the spoilers, and that the Power which could secure the earliest and firmest grip might dominate the Pacific and perhaps the Eastern World. Great Britain had, it is true, no desire to add to her empire—already large enough to satisfy her fullest ambitions—yet the needs of that empire made it impossible for her to stand aloof; for if Eastern Asia, with its command of the ocean ways, fell into the hands of a naval European Power, the result could not but affect our strategical position and maritime supremacy. British policy required, therefore, a close watch, the maintenance, if it were possible, of the *status quo*, or at least the ensuring in the future such an arrangement as would maintain the balance of power in the Far East. In the pursuit of this policy, accurate information as to events, persons, places and resources, as well as a sound appreciation of the changing strategic situation, were essential to the Government; and the task of giving such assistance fell necessarily on the shoulders of the chiefs of the two Intelligence Departments—Sir John Ardagh at Queen Anne's

Gate ; in Whitehall, at first Admiral Beaumont, and later Admiral Custance.

Meanwhile, the Near East continued to present its everlasting problems. In North America the Canadian Government sought expert advice as to the defensive organisation of the Dominion. In South America a difference of opinion with Venezuela as to the frontier of British Guiana presented a thorny question. Australia, on the eve of federation, was anxiously consulting as to the best methods of welding together the military forces of its various States.

The Crown Colonies and British Protectorates were, too, at this epoch a fruitful source of work for Sir John Ardagh and his staff. The recent expansion of those Protectorates and the official relations as regards the organisation and employment of their local military forces existing between the Intelligence Division and the State departments in Downing Street have already been touched on. To watch carefully and maintain an accurate and up-to-date record of all military operations in any part of the world, whether British troops are or are not therein engaged, is an obvious and normal duty of an Intelligence or General Staff. But when to this is added (as it should always be added, when British troops are employed) the task of advising the Home Government as to the conduct of the operations, the responsibility involved is grave and demands unremitting study and attention. This responsi-

bility lay upon Sir John Ardagh for no less than thirty small wars or expeditions undertaken by the Colonial Office or Foreign Office troops during his first three years of office, some of these operations, such as the Uganda Mutiny, the Sierra Leone Rebellion, and the operations in West Africa, 1897-8, involving situations of considerable difficulty and anxiety. As an example of the sudden demands made upon the Intelligence Division for advice on an emergency occurring, and of the advantage of such advice being forthcoming, it may be of interest to record that, in the case of the revolt of the Sudanese troops in Uganda, the cabled report was communicated by the Foreign Office to the Intelligence Staff at 5.30 p.m. one afternoon, with a request for an immediate verbal opinion as to the action to be taken. An opinion was expressed, was subsequently concurred in by the Commander-in-Chief, and before 7 p.m. that evening orders in conformity with it had been telegraphed to Simla by the Secretary of State for India. The troops despatched in compliance with these orders saved the situation and preserved the Protectorate from massacre and anarchy.

Another important responsibility, shared alike by the Intelligence Division and the Naval Intelligence Department, was the strategic study of the cable systems of the world, and in particular of the lines connecting directly or indirectly the various parts of the British Empire. It is unnecessary to discuss here the various advantages,

strategical, political, and economical, which British private enterprise and capital have secured for this country in making it the great international centre of cable communications, but it may be remarked that it is characteristic of the methods by which the empire has been built up that these benefits have been secured with comparatively little assistance from the Executive Government. Moreover, the intricate network of cables which connect the shores of England and Ireland with all parts of the habitable globe, have, notwithstanding their vital commercial and strategic importance, never been subjected by any special legislation to Government supervision or Government control. An accident only, the accident of the foreshore being, by the common law of the land, the property of the Crown, has made it necessary that, before any private company can dig trenches on the foreshore and lay a wire in them seaward, the licence of the Crown must be first obtained. Thus, both in the initiation of a new cable and periodically afterwards—for the licence is only granted for a number of years—it has been possible for the Government to impose on the applicants conditions as regards rates of tariff or other matters, or even to refuse sanction altogether for a new cable not favouring the interests of the State or of the community. Sir John Ardagh, during his term of office as D.M.I., was appointed a member of a special inter-departmental committee—termed the Cable Landing Rights

Committee—formed originally to advise the Board of Trade as to the many complicated questions connected with this grant or renewal of the Crown licences for cables. As a personal concession, having regard to the D.M.I.'s heavy burden of other work, Sir John was allowed from time to time to nominate one of his staff to represent his views on this committee, but before each meeting this representative took his instructions as to the line which should be adopted in the discussion of the various matters on the agenda paper.

Ardagh had, in fact, made a close personal study of these cable questions, and had become a master of all their bearings. He was fortunate enough, moreover, to possess the friendship of Sir John Pender. That this friendship was without influence on his judgment it is needless to say, but it did afford him the advantage of ready access to information as to the resources of perhaps the greatest of British cable enterprises, knowledge which, in an emergency, the D.M.I. was not slow to utilise for the benefit of the State.

In November 1900 General Ardagh was appointed a member of a special inter-departmental committee, assembled by the Government to consider and advise on the future policy which should be adopted in dealing with cable questions. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Secretary for Scotland, was selected as chairman of this committee, the other members being Rear-Admiral Custance, Mr. Hanbury (President of the Board of Agricul-

ture), Lord Hardwicke, representing the India Office, Lord Londonderry (Postmaster-General), and Lord Onslow, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. A Treasury minute directed this committee (*a*) to inquire into the present system of telegraphic communication between the different parts of the empire, and consider in what respects it needed supplementing ; (*b*) to investigate the relations existing between the Government and private cable companies, especially as regards Government control, and to advise as to the future policy ; (*c*) to examine the existing rates and to report how far they were fair and reasonable, and if not, how their reduction might be effected. All three heads of this inquiry obviously involved questions of the first importance. The sufficiency of its cable communication will always be a matter of paramount interest to a world-flung empire, dependent for its existence on sea supremacy.

The final report of the committee was signed on March 26, 1902. Sir John Ardagh had just embarked for South Africa on a special mission which will be described later, but the draft of the report had been fully discussed before his departure, and his signature thereto was affixed under his written authority. It discussed in a masterly manner the various issues. On the main question—the private ownership of the cables—the Director of Military Intelligence had long held that not only had the cable companies earned the gratitude of the public by the advantage they

had conferred on the nation in building up the immense British oceanic cable system, but that, quite apart from such sentimental feeling, the continued existence of these companies, with their technical equipment, trained personnel, and capacity for laying additional lines, secured against an emergency resources beyond what the State itself would be likely to maintain if the existing lines were acquired by the Government. Moreover, there were grave diplomatic and political difficulties involved in the suggestion that Great Britain should purchase cable lines, many of which touched on foreign territory. Furthermore, the value of these lines was estimated at £25,000,000, a great sum to invest in a commercial business, the prosperity of which might conceivably be affected by the development of wireless telegraphy, then emerging from its experimental stage.

These arguments proved acceptable to Sir John Ardagh's colleagues, and the committee specifically reported that they were "strongly opposed to any scheme for the general purchase of private cables by the State." They recommended, however, that the importance of the Cable Landing Rights Committee, to be called henceforth "The Cable Committee," should be enhanced by its definite recognition as the expert advisers of the Government on cable matters, and that the Treasury should in future accept responsibility for any executive action to be taken on that committee's recommendations.

Another and, in a measure a more difficult question to determine was whether strategic considerations confer a paramount importance on all-British routes for cables. Their advantages are obvious and were admitted by Lord Balfour's committee, but the committee at the same time pointed out that these advantages were subject to the assumption that the cables will not be cut by the enemy. "The more probable it is that they can be cut, the greater the value of a cable touching on foreign territory." The conclusions of the committee, therefore, were :

We think that appreciable, but not paramount, value must be attached to all-British lines, and we regard it as advisable that every important colony or naval base should possess one cable to this country which touches only on British territory, or on the territory of some friendly neutral. We think that, after this, there should be as many alternative routes as possible, but that these should be allowed to follow the normal routes suggested by commercial considerations.

In the light of these strategical principles, the committee considered a very large number of suggested new cables, proposed by various witnesses. Economic motives led to their proposals being winnowed down to three : (1) The strengthening of the connection with India, by adding a spur to the newly laid Cape-Australia line, linking it up with either Ceylon or Singapore ; (2) a land line joining the Straits Settlements

to Burmah ; and (3) (on the special recommendation of the Admiralty) an all-British cable to St. Lucia. All three lines were recommended purely on strategic grounds, the coaling base of St. Lucia, though since abandoned, being at that time regarded by the Admiralty as essential to our naval strategy.

A large reduction of rates had indeed been much hoped for by some enthusiasts as a result of the deliberations of the committee. Mr. Henniker Heaton, the success of whose great scheme of penny postage between the mother-country and her colonies has led to its recent extension to America, even boldly urged the committee to recommend a penny-per-word cable rate to Australia and North America ; but, after careful examination, it was found impossible on any commercial basis to encourage these hopes, and the committee rightly concluded that to attempt on commercial grounds to run cables at a loss at the expense of the State would be to burden the general tax-payer for the benefit of a particular class.

The report of Lord Balfour's committee, taken as a whole, is a notable instance of the advantages which accrue to the public service from special committees of this character, appointed to deal with complicated questions requiring expert knowledge and judgment for their elucidation. Whether executive authorities are not nowadays somewhat too prone to thrust their responsibilities on Royal Commissions, Committees, and the

like, may perhaps be open to argument, but there are occasions when the organisation of a body of picked consultants is the only means by which the Government of the day can make sure of a thorough examination of the matter at issue, and can secure a clear statement upon which a national policy can be based. The report of Lord Balfour's committee was for these reasons very favourably received by the Press and the public, and its recommendations have, in the main, been since adopted.

CHAPTER XIX

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

1899—1901

The Czar's proposals—Objects of the Hague Conference—Selection of British representatives—Ardagh's appointment—Drafting of Government Instructions—Appointment of the Hague Committees—Limitation of Armies—Restriction in Armament—The Dum-Dum bullet—Explosives from balloons—Codification of laws of war—Ardagh's views on laws of war—The Revised Code—Ardagh's services at the Hague—Results of Hague Conference—Enforced rest—Dark days—Charges against the Intelligence Department—Injustice borne in silence—*Vox clamantis in deserto*—Attitude of Ardagh—Royal Commission on the war—Statement of the Intelligence Division—Information supplied to the authorities—Colonial Section—Maps of South Africa—Difficulties of a Survey—The mapping controversy—Difficulties of the Government—The Royal Commission and the Cabinet—Reorganisation of the Intelligence Division—Whole-hearted devotion to duty—Ardagh's character.

THE Interdepartmental Committee on cables, sketched in the last chapter, may be taken as a typical illustration of the special work which from time to time was thrust upon Sir John Ardagh, as an addition to the ever-pressing burden of his normal duties as Director of Military Intelligence. It will have been observed that Lord

Balfour's committee was convened and completed its labours within the period during which the South African War was still straining to the utmost the energies of the War Office staff. But perhaps the most important—certainly the most notable—of the many extra-departmental duties which General Ardagh was called upon to add to his Intelligence work, was that involved by the Hague Conference, held in the spring of 1899, at the very time when it was daily becoming increasingly clear to him that war in South Africa could not be averted many months. In the previous August the Russian Government had proposed, through the diplomatic representatives credited to the Court of St. Petersburg an International Conference “to investigate the best means of securing to the world a durable peace, and of limiting the progressive development of military armaments.” That the nation which instituted this laudable conception should find itself but six years later embroiled—and embroiled not altogether without fault of its own—in one of the most sanguinary wars of modern times, was indeed an instance of the irony of fate ; yet no fair historian will for such reasons withhold the tribute of admiration due to the generous impulses which inspired the Czar to propose the first Peace Conference ; for it cannot be seriously contended that the Russian Emperor's dream of organising machinery which might tend to the abolition of war had any *arrière-pensée* lurking behind it.

The practicability of such a dream being realised in the present generation was obviously more than doubtful, but the proposal was one which could not be declined by any civilised Power, for the desire to pose as lovers of peace is common even to the most bellicose. The acceptance was therefore general, and early in the following January Count Mouravieff was directed by the Czar to communicate to the diplomatic representatives of the Powers a list of the subjects suggested for discussion. The proposed agenda were comprised under eight headings, which may be summarised as follows :

1. The limitation of the effective strength of naval and military forces.

2. The prohibition of new types of firearms or new explosives.

3. The restriction of the use of existing explosives, and in particular the prohibition of the throwing of projectiles or explosives from balloons.

4. The prohibition in naval warfare of submarine torpedo boats, and of vessels armed with a ram.

5. The application of the Geneva Convention of 1864 to naval warfare.

6. The neutralisation of boats and ships employed after an engagement in saving men overboard.

7. The revision of the laws and customs of war, drawn up at the Brussels Conference of 1874, but still unratified.

8. The acceptance of the principle of arbitration, and the organisation of machinery for giving effect to that principle.

These subjects were agreed to as a basis for discussion by Germany, the United States, Austria, Belgium, China, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Montenegro, Holland, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Servia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and Bulgaria. It was decided that the Conference should assemble at the Hague early in May.

So important an international discussion clearly demanded that this country should be represented by one or more of its most eminent diplomatists. Sir Julian Pauncefote, Ambassador at Washington, was therefore selected as the first British delegate, Sir Henry Howard, Minister Plenipotentiary at the Hague, being nominated as his colleague.

It was obvious, however, that even the best diplomatic skill would not be able to grapple with the technical naval and military points at issue without expert advisers. Indeed, of the eight subjects named for investigation, the discussion of the first seven required the professional knowledge and judgment of the soldier and sailor even more than the trained brain of the diplomatist. The object of the Conference was to promote peace, but it needed no gift of prophecy to foresee that the utmost immediate

result which could be hoped for was an engagement on the part of the Powers to allow some additional opportunities for friendly mediation before plunging finally into the bloody arbitrament of war, and perhaps, too, the securing of some slight amelioration of the hardness and cruelty which can never be wholly divorced from an armed contest.

But against this possible gain had to be set the danger that, by yielding this or that point to humanity, some means of defence, some resource might be abandoned, the loss of which might fatally weaken the State's power of fighting for its independence. It therefore behoved the Government to choose with no little care the naval and military experts upon whose advice our diplomatists must depend for guidance in dealing with such issues. Sir John Fisher was accordingly selected as the Admiralty representative, and Sir John Ardagh (in spite of a protest from Lord Wolseley that he could ill be spared from the War Office for any length of time) as the military technical adviser. Lieut.-Colonel à Court, then British Military Attaché at Brussels and the Hague, and formerly one of Ardagh's ablest subordinates in the Intelligence Division, was nominated as his assistant.

It is impossible here to narrate at length the proceedings of the first Hague Conference. They attracted much public attention at the moment, though the time was one in which it was becoming

daily and hourly more incumbent on this country not to dream of peace, but to prepare for war. The chief achievements of the Conference, the acceptance by the great Powers of the general principle of arbitration, and the establishment, or rather revision, of a code of international laws of war, are facts of no little historic importance. The discussions and despatches dealing with these and other matters will be found fully set forth in a Blue-book and, quickly though the world has since moved on, still afford valuable reading for the historian, the diplomatist and the military or naval student. It must suffice here to touch briefly on the rôle played personally by Ardagh in the bouts of skilled diplomatic fencing which characterise international gatherings of this description.

Having selected its representatives for the Conference, it became incumbent on the Government to draft instructions for their guidance on each of the eight subjects to be brought before the Conference. The subjects for this purpose fell conveniently into three categories :

(a) Those involving questions of national policy : as to such, the Cabinet's decision was necessary.

(b) Those upon which naval advice should be sought.

(c) Those upon which the opinions of military experts were needed.

The last category appeared to include, either

wholly or partially, the first three and the seventh subjects in Count Mouravieff's list. As to these, it was clearly the function of the War Office to furnish the technical opinions required, and of all the departments of the War Office it was evident that the Intelligence Division was the only one competent to deal with such problems. But even the machinery of Queen Anne's Gate was not wholly adapted for special studies of this nature, for the Intelligence work had been, as we have already seen, distributed in geographical groups, and no one section was at that time responsible for the examination of questions of general strategy and military policy. Ardagh therefore undertook the task himself and, in a masterly memorandum drafted by his own pen, as Director of Military Intelligence, discussed every aspect of the military points to be raised, suggesting in clear terms the instructions which should be issued to him as military delegate. His views, endorsed by Lord Lansdowne, were transmitted to the Foreign Office and there accepted by Lord Salisbury.

On May 18, 1899, on the invitation of the Queen of Holland, the representatives of the twenty-six Powers assembled at the "House in the Wood" at the Hague and, the Conference having been opened, M. de Staal, Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James, who had been sent as principal Russian Plenipotentiary, was called by unanimous vote to the chair. At a second meeting

held two days later, it was decided to form three committees, the first to carry out the initial examination of the first four subjects (the limitation of naval and military forces, the prohibition of new weapons and new explosives, the restriction of the use of existing explosives, and the prohibition in naval warfare of submarine torpedo boats and vessels armed with rams); the second to treat similarly subjects 5, 6 and 7; the third to deal with the eighth subject. Sir John Fisher and Sir John Ardagh were both named Vice-Presidents of the first committee and, together with Lieut.-Colonel à Court, members of the second. The first committee was sub-divided into naval and military sections. Ardagh's special work thus included almost the whole ground to be covered by the Conference.

Whatever may be the possibilities in the future of devising terms on which the leading Powers of the world will consent to a simultaneous limitation and reduction of their fighting forces, it was obvious that a discussion of this proposal at the first Peace Conference was fated from the outset to prove purely academical. As to the British military forces, it was not possible to contest Ardagh's view that, having regard to the size of the British Empire and the immense interests to be defended, the inferiority in strength of Great Britain's land forces compared with those of other Powers was too pronounced to admit of reductions being initiated by us.

That the suggestion of a limitation of military budgets could not be entertained by Great Britain was succinctly explained to the Conference by Sir John Ardagh, who laid particular stress on the special financial difficulties attending the military problems of this country.

The restriction of the use of existing armaments and the renunciation of future improvements in firearms or explosives had no doubt been suggested for discussion at the Conference, in the hope of diminishing the immense suffering entailed by war. This hope, as Sir John Ardagh pointed out, was based on the fundamental principle, which all must accept, that even in war no unnecessary suffering should be inflicted. But he had no difficulty in establishing that, so far from the introduction of new weapons in warfare having increased the aggregate of misery and suffering for belligerent nations, the very contrary has been the case. It is true that almost every new invention of war has been condemned at the outset on humanitarian grounds. A Lateran Council anathematised the cross-bow in A.D. 1139 as "hateful to God." Bayard held all firearms to be unfair, and at his end thanked God that he had had all musketeers put to death who had fallen into his hands. Yet, historically, it is evident that the steady improvement in weapons since mediæval times has been accompanied by a curtailment of the duration and frequency of wars, a diminution in the percentage of losses in battle,

and a marked amelioration in the treatment of wounded and non-combatants.

As to all this, Ardagh carried his foreign colleagues with him, and a desultory discussion of vague proposals forbidding the introduction of new types of rifles or the use of guns beyond a certain calibre quickly fizzled out, it being evident that such suggestions were incapable of being moulded into practical shape.

On one point, however, the much-criticised Dum-Dum bullet, the British Military representative was unable to remove Continental prejudices, although his array of facts and arguments was unanswerable, and indeed was only met by violent assertions, lacking proof. The origin of the so-called Dum-Dum bullet was perfectly legitimate. Prior to the adoption of small-bore rifles, the leaden bullets used by every army in the world had no covering or envelope. Explosive bullets were forbidden by the Convention of St. Petersburg in 1868, and this prohibition has ever since been accepted by civilised nations. But the Snider and the Martini-Henry, to name the two rifles of the British Army which preceded the Lee-Metford, inflicted severe wounds which, although no one objected to them on the score of humanity, did, nevertheless, succeed very effectively in putting an enemy decisively and instantly out of action. The introduction of the small-bore was found to necessitate the covering of the leaden bullet with a hard outer envelope, not for humanitarian

reasons, but because the lead, if not protected, tended, owing to the rapid twist of the rifle, to choke up the grooves. But the addition of this hard envelope, coupled with a decrease in calibre and an increase in initial velocity, altered materially the action of the bullet. The hole it made in passing through the human body was exceedingly small ; if, in this passage, a bone was met, it was merely drilled through cleanly, and not fractured. The Chitral Campaign of 1895 proved that this new bullet failed to stop the charge of fanatical natives, or to put them out of action. It left the British soldier, therefore, at a great disadvantage in opposing an enemy armed with weapons of an older type. It is obvious that a bullet which fails to preserve a soldier's life by stopping his opponent is inadequate for the legitimate purposes of war. To meet this difficulty, the Government, after many tests, approved of the manufacture of a bullet technically known as Mark IV., whose stopping power was equivalent to, but no greater than, that of a rifle of greater calibre. This result was attained by giving the small-calibre bullet a slight cylindrical cavity at its head, almost exactly similar to a cavity in the head of the old Snider's bullet. In the new bullet, the hard envelope was turned down over this cavity. It inflicted a less severe wound than the Snider ; indeed, it only just fulfilled its purpose, and in principle it was practically identical with the Snider, against

which no charge of undue severity had ever been brought.

The Dum-Dum bullet, subsequently adopted for the same reasons by the Indian Government, was practically similar to the Mark IV. of the Home Government, except that a small portion of the head of the leaden bullet was not covered by its envelope.

A German, however, Dr. Brun, Inspector-General of the Military Hospital Corps at Würtemberg, had carried out a series of experiments in 1898 at Tübingen with an exaggerated Dum-Dum bullet of a much severer type, and had published the results to the world in an illustrated pamphlet which, totally ignoring the object of, and the precedent for, the British bullet, condemned it in scathing terms.

The Continental delegates came, therefore, to the Conference with minds prejudiced against both the Mark IV. and the Dum-Dum bullet ; the two were regarded by them as identical, and at the meeting of the first Committee on May 31, the Dutch and the Russian representatives brought forward resolutions condemning both in indirect terms. Sir John Ardagh's defence can best be set forth by quoting from a subsequent report :

I explained to the Sub-Commission that in our savage warfare it had been found that men who had been penetrated through and through several times by the latest model of small-calibre projectile, were nevertheless still able to advance,

and that as we found the ball with a complete envelope so frequently made only a small clean hole which the savage regarded as only a scratch, some more effective means of disabling him was necessary. Your civilised soldier, I said, when he has had a bullet through him, knows that he is considered as wounded ; he recognises the fact, mounts his cacolet, or lies down on his stretcher, and is taken off to his ambulance to have attention from his doctor or his Red Cross Society, according to the rules of the game. But your barbarian, when he receives wounds of a like nature, which are insufficient to stop or disable him, continues to rush on, spear or sword in hand, and before you have had time to explain to him that he is not playing according to the rules of the game, and that his conduct is in flagrant violation of the rules of the Peace Conference, he may have succeeded in killing you.

We recognised, therefore, that it was imperatively necessary to provide our soldiers with the means of inflicting a really disabling wound which should stop their fanatical foes at the moment, and arrest their further advance. Such a wound was produced by the Enfield, the Snider and the Martini, but not by the new small-bore when balls with complete envelopes were used. Experiments showed that if the top of the ball was filed off, a tendency to expand was produced, and the wound occasioned a shock sufficient in most cases to stop a man immediately. This was the origin of the Dum-Dum bullet. But the actual effect of this bullet has been enormously exaggerated in sensational accounts which have been published, which represented it as being as destructive as an explosive projectile.

Experiments were made at Tübingen with a Mauser bullet specially prepared, as was stated, to resemble the Dum-Dum bullet, but the projectile

differed very widely from the Dum-Dum. In the latter the area of the exposed portion of the core was less than half the cross-section of the bullet, and no portion of the core projected beyond the envelope; while in the Tübingen projectile the outer envelope was discontinued at nearly one diameter from the point, and the flattening out, or expansion of the exposed part of the core, was very conspicuous. The wounds made by this Tübingen bullet were very severe indeed.

But neither the humour nor the truth of Ardagh's defence prevailed. A majority of 18 votes carried the resolution—Great Britain alone voting against it—that :

L'emploi des balles qui s'épanouissent ou s'aplatissent dans le corps humain, telles que les balles à enveloppe, dont l'enveloppe ne couvrirait pas entièrement le noyau ou serait pourvue d'incisions, doit être interdit.

Three weeks later, on the minutes of the meeting of May 31 coming up for confirmation, Sir John read a formal protest against this decision. He explained again the origin of, and the necessity for, the Mark IV. and Dum-Dum bullets, laying stress on the fact that they were less effective than the Enfield, Snider, or Martini-Henry, and denying that they occasioned useless suffering. He discussed in some detail the Tübingen experiments, which had given the Dum-Dum *une mauvaise renommée* in Europe, and again pointed out that the bullet there tested was not identical with the Dum-Dum, having much more of its soft leaden core

exposed outside the envelope, and consequently being capable of inflicting far more severe wounds. He laid stress on the obligation resting upon the British Government of furnishing the British soldier with a weapon sufficient to protect himself against the charge of a determined savage enemy, and finally, while regretting his inability, for these reasons, to accept the resolution, affirmed the complete sympathy of Great Britain with the principles of humanity which inspired the resolution, and expressed the hope that it might even yet be possible to give effect to those principles by a unanimous vote which, while avoiding technical details, would condemn the use of any bullet causing needless suffering.

The suggestion thus thrown out met with an appreciative and generous response from Captain Crozier, the Military Delegate of the United States, who moved that, in lieu of the original resolution, the following should be substituted :

L'emploi des balles qui infligent des blessures inutilement cruelles, telles que les balles explosibles et en général toute espèce de balle qui dépasse la limite nécessaire pour mettre un homme immédiatement hors de combat, est interdit.

The original resolution was, however, confirmed by 20 votes, Great Britain and the United States alone voting against it, and Portugal abstaining from voting.

One more attempt, which took the form of a conference, held on July 15, between M. de

Karnebeek, the reporter of the committee, and Sir Julian Pauncefote, Sir Henry Howard, Sir John Ardagh and Colonel à Court, was made to arrive at the draft of a resolution as to the prohibition of unduly severe bullets, which might be accepted by all the Powers. At this meeting Sir John, on the authority of the Secretary of State for War, stated that the British Government were not altogether satisfied with the modified bullet, which they had tried, and intended to make further experiments, with a view to producing one which would comply with military, as well as human, requirements. But M. de Karnebeek intimated that the views of the majority had been too definitely expressed to allow of any modification of the resolution passed. The resolution, nevertheless, was not a very happy or fair one, inasmuch as it was based on a misapprehension, and, moreover, was aimed directly at the nation which, of all civilised Powers, has made the greatest sacrifices in the cause of humanity, and has achieved the greatest success in governing on humane principles and gradually elevating uncivilised races.

This resolution, another prohibiting for five years the dropping of explosives from balloons, and a third forbidding the employment of projectiles whose sole object is to spread asphyxiating or deleterious gas, were the only tangible results of the examination of the questions relating to the limitations of the material of war. To the second of these declarations the British

military delegate at first opposed an absolute negative, foreseeing the possibility of the developments in the navigation of the air which have since made such progress. Subsequently Sir John modified his position, and assented to the five years' prohibition, being anxious to show some reciprocity to the United States delegate in return for his friendly and disinterested support in the bullet debate. This modification commended itself to the British Government, though not altogether to Lord Wolseley, who doubted the expediency of tying our hands on the point, even for a short period.

As regards the establishment of an international code of laws of war, the history of the Brussels Convention of 1874, the result of whose deliberations the Hague Conference was instructed to reconsider, is somewhat curious. Its origin lay in the disputes and recriminations between the two belligerents in the Franco-German campaign as to the proper conduct of war. Initiated by Russia, the Conference was attended by the representatives of fifteen European Powers, and formulated certain articles which, the delegates hoped, might prove a basis for further discussion between their Governments, and ultimately lead to the acceptance of an international code. That hope was not fulfilled. The attitude of the British Government is summarised in the penultimate paragraph of a despatch of Lord Derby's, dated January 20, 1875, stating that :

A careful consideration of the whole matter has convinced Her Majesty's Government that it is their duty firmly to repudiate, on behalf of Great Britain and her allies, in any future war any project for altering the principles of international law upon which this country has hitherto acted ; and, above all, to refuse to be a party to any agreement the effect of which would be to facilitate aggressive wars and to paralyse the patriotic resistance of an invaded people.

These arguments seem to have been somewhat lacking in strength and clearness. Principles unformulated in any written rules must necessarily depend for their application upon the personal views of a commander of an army, and these views would vary with the traditions of his army, and his own individual experience and knowledge of the customs of war. Moreover, it would seem a matter of much doubt whether principles in so loose and fluid a form would favour the continuance of resistance by a small State against a strong military Power.

The report of the Brussels Conference gave rise naturally to a good deal of discussion amongst international jurists, and led to the formation of two schools of thought. The Continental school favoured an international code of law, ratified and enforced by international agreement, holding that this would tend to diminish the hardships of war. The English school opposed these ideas. It conceived that a stereotyped code would do more harm than good, that it would only increase the

amount of recrimination between belligerents, tend to prolong wars, and thus enhance the suffering of non-combatants; moreover, it would be impossible to enforce it.

Meanwhile certain States had drawn up and issued to their own armies instructions for the guidance of commanders in dealing with questions affected by the so-called laws, or rather customs of war. In Great Britain, however, no further action had been taken, although, curiously enough, for many years officers assembled for a court-martial were required to swear that they would adjudicate upon all points left undefined by the Army Discipline Act and Articles of War, "according to their conscience and the custom of war in like cases."

These considerations and anomalies had been carefully studied by Sir John Ardagh before leaving England for the Hague, and, fortified by the confirmation of his views by the Government, he was able to take a very definite line in the discussion of principles at the outset of the discussion. The subject was introduced on June 6 by the Belgian Plenipotentiary, M. Beernaert, and the distinguished Russian international jurist, M. de Maartens. At the next meeting (June 10), Sir John Ardagh intervened with a clear statement of the general attitude of Great Britain on this question, although he was careful to safeguard his statement by the remark that the Government was not to be considered "engaged

by his opinions or vote." His statement was confined to two main points. In the first place, he pointed out that it was undesirable to leave undefined the relative duties of an occupying army and of the civil population of an occupied territory, and he urged, in the interests of the weaker States, that after a full discussion the restrictions which should be imposed on the former should be specifically indicated. His second point involved a principle in the form of procedure. Both M. de Beernaert and M. de Maartens had hinted at reversion to the old conception of a stereotyped international code, accepted by international agreement. To Ardagh, this proposal appeared to present many difficulties. To quote from a memorandum of his recording this discussion, he stated to the Committee that—

It seemed to him that this aim, however great might be the attractions it presented from an abstract and academical point of view, was one which was attended by many dangers arising from the diversity of opinions expressed and interests engaged, and that a persistence in the attempt might lead to the same fruitless result as ensued from the Brussels Conference. On the other hand, he thought if the States represented were to confine themselves to the more modest and more practicable idea of regarding the revised articles as a collection of views which the Government might adopt in whole or in part, according to their conviction, there was certain to be some tangible result.

He said that he understood the views of his Government to be that they were willing to

incorporate in their instructions to the Army all the articles which they considered to be in conformity with the principles of international law by which they had hitherto been guided, and that they attached great importance to retaining full liberty to accept or to modify them.

On these lines Sir John laboured throughout the long discussion in detail of the amendments to the Brussels Conference Code; nor was his labour unsuccessful, for the revision made proved favourable to the cause of the weaker States whose interests the British Government desired to safeguard, and in a lengthy memorandum, transmitted to the Foreign Office by Sir Julian Pauncefote (*vide* "Correspondence concerning the Peace Conference held at the Hague, 1899," p. 160), General Ardagh was able to report that, in his opinion, the revised articles formed "a most valuable exposition, so far as they go, of the laws and customs of war," and that, "subject to the reservation 'saving the necessities of war,' they all might be accepted."

This brief summary of Ardagh's work at the Hague has of necessity afforded but an imperfect glimpse of the heavy work and strain entailed. Throughout it all he kept in close touch with Pall Mall, Downing Street, and Queen Anne's Gate, receiving and answering private letters and suggestions from many high officials. Nearly all of these were necessarily confidential and cannot therefore be quoted, but it may be per-

missible to give the following, written in a lighter vein, by a Foreign Office pen :

MY DEAR ARDAGH,

Many thanks for your letter. . . . I have, with Lord——'s approval, sent off all the papers in an immediate box to Lord ——, and hope that he will evolve out of them a satisfactory solution.

I am myself in favour of having an international Pigeon Shooting Match with Dum-Dum bullets. The whole stock would be fired away before the necessary hits had been obtained for examining the effect, and we might then invent a new humanitarian missile, to be called the "Dam-dam" bullet.

Yours very sincerely.

Sir John Ardagh returned to England July 27, 1899. An official communication, addressed by the Foreign Office to the War Office, on the 9th of the following month, stated :

I am to take this opportunity to express to Lord Lansdowne the high sense which Lord Salisbury entertains of the valuable services rendered by Major-General Sir John Ardagh in the course of the discussion on military subjects which took place at the Peace Conference.

Ardagh's personal assessment of the actual results achieved by the Conference can best be gathered from extracts from a letter, written immediately on his return, to Sir James Gowan :

25, SLOANE GARDENS, S.W.,

July 29, 1899.

Your letter of the 8th May reached me at the Hague, when the business of the Peace Conference had already begun to engross all my time and attention; so I was unable to do anything else. To make matters worse, I had two attacks of malarious fever while the work was going on, and was therefore unable to take care of myself, with the result that I have been much pulled down and have been told by Sir Joseph Fayrer that rest is imperatively necessary.

The Conference is now over, and when I have completed my final reports I shall seek the repose I need.

The Peace Conference has not evolved the conclusions which the Utopian fanatics of the world believed to be inevitable, but it has done much good work in dissipating unrealisable conceptions, and in putting those which appeared to be practically attainable in a concrete form. The construction of a code of arbitration, and the creation of a central international bureau and tribunal, to which disputants can resort, is in itself a monumental work. Its evolution is in the main due to the experience, the skill, and the moderation of Sir Julian Pauncefote, and in a great degree also to the United States delegates. The result would have been more complete but for the opposition of some of the European Powers, but on the whole it is perhaps more than was hoped for or anticipated.

Next to arbitration, I think the formulation of the laws and customs of war in a code which will be generally accepted by the world may be regarded as a considerable step in advance. This was a very contentious subject, as the interests of the great military Powers were antagonistic to those of the weak and neutral States. Great

Britain has adopted a benevolent attitude towards the latter, while recognising the power to enforce obedience possessed by the commanders of overwhelming forces. I encountered much difficulty in endeavouring to reconcile the rival claims, and I believe contributed to a fairly satisfactory solution by the course which I took.

The adaptation of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare was skilfully handled by my colleague, Admiral Sir John Fisher, whom you probably knew when he commanded the North Atlantic Squadron.

A virulent attack was made upon the Dum-Dum bullet—the projectile in use in India—and its defence and the maintenance of the thesis that it is the right and the duty of a Government to provide its soldiers with arms and projectiles in which they can repose confidence, gave me much trouble and anxiety.

In this matter we are much indebted to our American colleagues for their friendly and able support; but it was clear that the majority which opposed us was much more anxious to inflict a wound on the Anglo-Saxon, and on England in particular, than to listen to evidence or be guided by reason. The Czar's proposals for a limitation of armed forces and naval and military budgets, for interdiction of the use of new inventions in warfare, and for the disuse of rams, submarine boats, etc., practically received no support. I am sorry to observe that in the Alaska boundary dispute the language employed has not been of a conciliatory character, but I do not despair of a settlement.

We hope that the very plain issues concerning the position of the Uitlanders will at last be realised by the Transvaal, and that it may not be necessary to resort to force.

The need for rest referred to in the first part of this letter was indeed imperative. The strain of work, the heat of a baking summer, and the exhalations from the malodorous canals of the Hague, had combined to bring on a severe attack of fever, which left Sir John very weak. He struggled on to the end of the Conference, but was then forced, sorely against his will, to turn his back for three months on all work, though no one lived on and in his work more than he.

And so it came about that, for the two months immediately before the South African War, as well as for the time, at the Hague, the Intelligence Division missed the great advantage of its chief's presence. Yet perhaps it was as well, for the true test of a man's qualifications, as head of a large and responsible staff, is not that the work should go well when he is there to supervise personally, but that the machinery which his brain has built up and the personnel he has trained to handle it, should have been so put together and taught that the work goes on uninterrupted and unimpaired in his absence. Ardagh had had the satisfaction, while at the Hague, of learning, from one of Lord Lansdowne's kindly personal notes, that all was going well at Queen Anne's Gate, and he knew too that, so far as the Intelligence Staff was concerned, the preparation for the possibility of war in South Africa was in a forward condition. Yet, for all that, it must be owned that the lack of his presence and counsel was a severe loss in

London in those critical weeks which immediately preceded war. Whether they would have sufficed to outweigh the political reasons, which retarded executive action, it would be idle now to consider.

The days of trial which came on the British Army at the end of 1899 were, however, to be in a peculiar degree dark for Ardagh. With characteristic, and yet real unselfishness, he held back none of his staff to whom an opportunity of service at the front offered. It was an instance of real personal sacrifice, of exceptional generosity. No one knew so well as Sir John how essential long training and experience are for the special work he required of his subordinates, and how the burden on his own shoulders would increase seven-fold if he let the trained men embark for South Africa, and filled their places with such stop-gaps as he could chance on. But the good of the service and the interests of individual officers outweighed absolutely in his mind his own personal convenience. His aim had always been to make an appointment in the Intelligence Division so prized as to be the ambition of the pick of Staff College graduates. The work at Queen Anne's Gate was in itself such as to attract the keen soldier, to whom severe spells of continuous labour are a satisfaction, if spent in mastering great military problems. But to this work there was one serious drawback—the separation for a time from the active side of a soldier's life which it then entailed, but which, happily, it has been since

found possible in a considerable measure to obviate. Ardagh saw very clearly that this drawback would be counterbalanced in the future in the eyes of the class of officer he desired to secure for his staff, if it were recognised that good work at Queen Anne's Gate formed a strong claim for active employment on the outbreak of war. And so, of set purpose, but with unparalleled unselfishness, he backed strongly the wishes of his subordinate staff, and saw them one after another embark at the shortest notice for the Cape, leaving himself and Sir W. Everett to face the drudgery at home.

But it was not work which threw a gloom over Queen Anne's Gate at this time, for the work there was the absorbing interest of its chief's life. Anxiety for the issue, sympathy with his many comrades at the front, grief that the army, which he loved so well, should have to face a series of checks, and, what was worse, incur undeserved criticism from its own countrymen, regret at the loss of personal friends—two of whom, Henry Northcott¹ and Francis Cooper,² had won his trust and affection by years of good work under his immediate eye at Queen Anne's Gate—the stress of all this Ardagh had to share with many another Englishman, both soldier and civilian. But to these anxieties and griefs was added, for

¹ Formerly head of the Colonial Section of the I.D.; killed at the battle of the Modder while serving as D.A.A.G. on Lord Methuen's staff.

² Formerly head of the French Section of the I.D.; died of enteric while serving in Natal as A.D.C. to Sir Francis Clery.

him, the harder task of going on steadily with the daily work of his office, silent and unmoved, whilst the Press and all England were ringing with the charge that this time of trial, with its humiliations and losses, had befallen an unprepared nation and Government, because the Intelligence Department had failed in its duty.

That the charge should be made was not unnatural. It was evident to all that the executive preparation for the war had been inadequate, and the warnings of the Intelligence Division were still guarded by confidential seal from the knowledge of the man in the street. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army had, in a speech made on November 6, 1899, stated that, "We find that the enemy who declared war against us is much more powerful than we anticipated." A Cabinet Minister soon afterwards declared that, three months earlier, the Government had as little expectation of the possibility of war with the Orange Free State as they had of a war with Switzerland. The Prime Minister himself, moreover, had implied that the Government had no precise information as to the armament of the Transvaal, by pleading that it was impossible to keep count of importations of guns and ammunition which had been smuggled into that country in pianoforte cases.

From persons less highly placed the statements were frequent and specific that the armament and strength of the Boers greatly exceeded anything anticipated by the military authorities, that the

theatre of war was a *terra incognita* to the troops, and that the provision of maps, essential to the conduct of successful operations, had been totally neglected.

These were the accusations which Sir John Ardagh had to suffer in silence, surrounded in his office with *dossiers* of papers giving them complete denial, and yet restrained, by the obligations of official reticence, from even hinting at these papers' existence. Never was there a finer example of loyalty to the Government and of willingness to sacrifice personal reputation to the interests of the State. That loyalty, that spirit of self-sacrifice, represent, it is true, the highest traditions of the public service in this country, but it is not too much to say that those traditions were strengthened and elevated by Ardagh's steadfast endurance of three years of undeserved contumely, until the issue, in 1903, of the Report of the War Commission dispersed finally the clouds of misconception.

But Sir John did more than merely endure in silence. To the majority of men situated as he was, the temptation to pose as a martyr, even though the posing had no audience other than his own inner consciousness, would have been irresistible. To Ardagh, this temptation never seems to have presented itself. He was, in fact, too single-minded a public servant to take thought for himself. The work, the interests of the State, were all he had at heart. He realised, it is true, to the full, and so recorded in the last

official document penned as Director of Military Intelligence, that too often he had been a *vox clamantis in deserto*, but the cause of this he attributed, not to any individuals—certainly not to his immediate superiors—but partly to the defective organisation of the War Office and partly to the indifference of the nation to the great questions of national defence. The following letter, written to his Canadian relative, long before the public acquittal of the Intelligence Division by the War Commission, illustrates forcibly the attitude of Ardagh's mind :

25, SLOANE GARDENS, S.W.,
November 4, 1900.

I have not had any breathing time since the beginning of the war, and have never been able to say that I am free from arrears ; so your interesting letters have remained too long unanswered.

The anxieties of the past year throughout the Queen's dominions have been largely compensated for by the firm consolidation which they have made conspicuously manifest between the component parts of the empire. No doubt, the feeling of unity existed before, but the evidences of it were open to challenge. The case has now been tried in open court, and the verdict has been unanimous. The cavillers are silenced. To many, at home as well as abroad, the solidarity of the empire has been a revelation. The war has taught us many lessons. Let us hope that they will be laid to heart, and profited by. Our rulers in the past were content to be able to send seventy thousand men abroad, and would sanction no more. How well the machinery of mobilisation was organised has been shown by the elasticity of the system

which enabled us to treble the number. It was a severe strain, but nothing gave way.

Last spring was, however, a time of great anxiety, for we could not have carried on a European war if one had been forced upon us, except on the sea. Happily, we tided over the most critical period, and by great good fortune the Chinese imbroglio diverted attention elsewhere.

Now we must go to work and set our house in order, recognising that our two Army Corps formed a totally inadequate insurance against the risks which we have to guard against. The Press and the public write and howl intemperately and unjustly against the War Office and Lord Lansdowne, on whom they endeavour to saddle the blame, which should be borne by Parliament and the constituencies. In and out of season the senior officers of the Army have long represented the necessity of having more men, more guns, and more stores, but they preached to deaf ears, and were as a voice crying in the wilderness. The people loved to have it so, and Government after Government comforted themselves with the hope—"Not in our time!" I am full of indignation at the way in which the public now seek to make a scape-goat of Lord Lansdowne, who, in his time, certainly did much to endeavour to strengthen the weak edifice which he had inherited from his predecessors. The War Office is in reality but a subordinate branch of the Treasury, which holds the purse-strings of the nation, and inexorably refuses to open them until forced to do so by public opinion.

Lord Lansdowne will, in my opinion, make an excellent Foreign Secretary, and particularly at a time when it is most desirable to improve our relations with France. His French blood will stand us in good stead.

My period in the Intelligence Division comes

to an end on March 31, and I have no idea what my future will be.

The story of the preparation made by the Intelligence Division for the War in South Africa is set forth without reserve in Appendices A, B and C of the Report of Lord Elgin's Commission (pp. 151-210), in Sections I.-IV. of the Report itself, and in the evidence of Sir John Ardagh, Lieut.-Colonel E. A. Altham, Lieut.-Colonel W. R. Robertson, Major Grant and Major Hills, recorded in vol. i. of the "Minutes of Evidence" given before the Royal Commission. Briefly it may be recalled that the crisis in South Africa, even before the Jameson Raid, had engaged the close attention of the Intelligence Division, and that from that time onwards the South African problem had been the object of continuous anxiety and vigilant watchfulness. Anxiety and watchfulness are, however, of no avail unless they lead to practical results. It was as to results that the Intelligence Division was placed on its trial before the War Commission.

The specific charges made against the Intelligence Division in connection with the South African War were: (1) that it failed to assess correctly the numerical strength of the Boers; (2) that it was ignorant of their armament, especially their artillery; (3) that it had failed to fathom the Boers' offensive designs on Natal; (4) that in any case no warnings as to

the above had been given to the Government; and (5) that our troops were left unfurnished with maps, and were without topographical information.

The "Statement of the Intelligence Division" handed to the War Commission by Lieut.-General Sir W. G. Nicholson (see Appendix A of the Commission's Report) met each of these charges in detail. It would be superfluous to repeat in full the facts and figures of that statement. But so crucial a test of a portion of Ardagh's work as Director of Military Intelligence cannot be altogether passed over. It would, therefore, seem permissible to recapitulate a few of the more material points involved.

As regards the strength of the Boers, the primary and most important point to determine was whether, if war came with the Transvaal, the Free State would throw in her lot with her sister Republic. The British Government, as we have seen, held that this was not a contingency seriously to be reckoned with. No doubt, in accepting this optimistic view, the Cabinet must have relied on some expert opinion; but, from whatever source this opinion emanated, it was in direct contradiction to the views formally and consistently set forth by the Intelligence Division. As far back as October 1896, Sir John Ardagh had urged, in a memorandum entitled, "The Transvaal Boers from a Military Point of View," that "we must make our preparations on the

assumption that they " (the Free State) "are hostile." This opinion was never deviated from in any of the many Intelligence handbooks and memoranda subsequently put forward; but to clinch the matter, a special paper, written in Queen Anne's Gate in August 1899, with the express purpose of clearing from the minds of the Government the ill-founded hope of a neutral Free State, set forth in precise detail the political and military ties existing between these two Republics, pointed out the actual military preparations which were being made by the Free State, and concluded "that there is a practical certainty that the Free State will officially join hands with the Transvaal, should war take place."

Given the conclusion that the Free State and the Transvaal would join hands, three points as regards strength were important: (*a*) The number of burghers in the two States liable to military service; (*b*) the number which would take the field at the outset of the war; (*c*) the assistance which would be given them by rebels from the two British Colonies.

It is clear that the Intelligence Staff had no means of making an independent assessment of the male population scattered through the two Republics. The figures compiled by the Republican Government at the last census seemed, however, to be reliable. These (including State Artillery and Police) were correctly quoted as

31,329 for the Transvaal and 23,355 for the Free State. The number of rebels to be expected from Natal and Cape Colony had been assessed in an 1896 memorandum of Sir John Ardagh at 10,000. Two years later the Intelligence Division, finding that the Boer secret agents working in the Colonies had failed to establish any definite military organisation, reduced this estimate to 4,000, but added the warning that weakness on our side at the outbreak of war would add substantially to that number.

The number of burghers who would actually take the field of mobilisation were estimated by the Intelligence Division at 47,000, of whom it was conjectured that 11,000 would be employed for local defence, leaving 33,000 as a main field army.

The last estimate was clearly the most important of all. It proved to be rather over than under the mark, for the highest estimate of the maximum number of Boers in the field at any time during the first year of the war—that of the "Times History" (vol. viii., p. 88)—gives only 45,000. The principal main field army—the two columns which invaded Natal, and concentrated on Ladysmith—did not exceed 23,000 men.

Similarly, at the outbreak of the war, the Intelligence forecast of rebels was certainly not exceeded, although ultimately the number swelled to 13,000 (vol. v., p. 158, Appendix to Report

of War Commission), thus justifying amply the Intelligence warning.

On the other hand, returns compiled at the end of the war of the total number of the enemy accounted for by capture, surrender, casualties, etc., showed, even making allowance for boys under sixteen, that the Republic's official lists of burghers were inaccurate, and that (exclusive of foreigners, rebels, etc.) some 15,000 more men were accounted for than were then enumerated. It is difficult, though, to see how any Intelligence Department could have discovered this inaccuracy beforehand; in any case, it does not diminish the remarkable exactness of their own forecasts.

The armament charge was easy to refute. It was mainly based on the surprise caused to the English public at the opening of the war by the appearance of the "Long Toms." The "Statement" presented to the Royal Commission pointed out that these guns had been described in detail in the handbook issued by the Intelligence Division, entitled, "Military Notes on the Dutch Republics of South Africa,"¹ and the possibility of

¹ These notes were first issued as a secret publication by the I.D. in 1898. In June 1899 an enlarged edition was printed and a liberal distribution subsequently made to the Staff proceeding to South Africa. Copies of the book fell into the hands of the Boers after the retirement from Dundee, and, extracts being communicated by them to the Transvaal and American Press, the secrecy of the book ceased. Ultimately it was laid before Parliament and copies placed in the House of Commons Library.

their use, as guns of position, mentioned. Moreover, three days before the commencement of the war an Intelligence telegram reported from Natal to the War Office that three guns of position were with the Boer Army concentrated near Langs Nek. As a matter of fact, the "Military Notes" not only indicated the "Long Toms" and every other important type of modern gun in possession of the Boers, but somewhat overestimated the number, crediting the two Republics with a total of 107 guns, instead of the actual 99. As regards rifles, "Military Notes" stated that "the actual number of rifles in the Republic is more than double the number of burghers, but the surplus is intended to arm the disloyalists from Cape Colony and Natal." As regards rifle ammunition, the "Notes" reported that in June 1899 there were 23 million rounds in Pretoria magazine, and another 10 million on order by cable. The records of the magazine captured on the occupation of Pretoria showed 33,050,000 rounds on charge in September 1899.

Nor do the Intelligence Division's warnings and information as regards the Boers' plan of campaign require any apology. As early as June 1896 Sir John Ardagh had pointed out the reasons for mistrusting the assumption that, if hostilities broke out with the Boers, they would refrain from making any serious advance into Natal or Cape Colony during the time that would elapse before troops sufficient for our advance

would be concentrated in South Africa. In the revised edition of the "Military Notes" issued by Sir John Ardagh's direction in June 1899 it was recorded that "a report from a reliable source, dated June 1899, states that the present Boer plan of campaign contemplates a concentration with the Free State forces west of the Drakensberg and an advance on Ladysmith through Van Reenen's Pass."

On these and other points, it was proved to the satisfaction of the Royal Commission that the information compiled under Sir John Ardagh's orders before the war was in many respects "remarkably accurate." But, if this conclusion was a surprise to the general public, the revelation of the series of memoranda written during the years 1896 to 1899 by the Intelligence Staff for the information of the higher authorities, was still more astonishing. They have already been alluded to, and their main purport will be found clearly summarised in Part I., paragraphs 20 to 26, of the Report of the Royal Commission. The memoranda themselves were, moreover, deemed by the Commission of sufficient importance to warrant their being reproduced *in extenso*, and annexed to the Report (Appendix B, pp. 161-80). To enter into them again now would, therefore, be superfluous, but, as some indication of their contents, it may be of interest to extract from the Report the following tabulated schedule of these papers :

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Writer.</i>
June 11, 1896 ..	Remarks of the present strategical position in South Africa.	Major Altham.
October 1896 ..	The Transvaal Forces from a military point of view.	Sir John Ardagh.
April 15, 1897 ..	Recent letters from South Africa.	Sir John Ardagh.
Sept. 21, 1898 ..	Frontier Defence in South Africa in a war against the Dutch Republics.	Major Altham.
June 3, 1899 ..	Selection of a line of advance against the Transvaal.	Major Altham.
Aug. 8, 1899 ..	On the political and military relations existing between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.	Major Altham.
Sept. 28, 1899 ..	Notes on the strength and distribution of the burghers in the South African Republic and Orange Free State.	Colonel Everett.

The last-named memorandum was written in the absence of Sir J. Ardagh, who was on the sick list, and of the head of the colonial section, who

had embarked for South Africa, and took a somewhat less grave view of the coming struggle than the previous papers.

These papers set forth the formal appreciation of the strategical situation in South Africa which the Intelligence Division submitted from time to time through the Commander-in-Chief, to whom all such formal reports were then addressed. But Queen Anne's Gate received constantly during the three years preceding the war special reports from South Africa, and copies of these were submitted almost weekly to both the Secretary of State for War and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as April 3, 1897, Mr. Chamberlain, in an official letter addressed from the Colonial Office to the War Office, expressed his acknowledgments for "the valuable reports communicated to his department from time to time by the Director of Military Intelligence" as to the importation "of vast quantities of munition of war" into the Transvaal; and in a further letter, dated nine days later, he again drew Lord Lansdowne's special attention to certain Intelligence communications concerning the position of affairs in South Africa. These reports were additional to the more elaborate papers laid before the War Commission. By this means a continuous stream of information was poured on the desks of the Government up to the very outbreak of war. The memoranda merely summed up the information, and drew attention to the deductions to be formed

from them, making clear the gravity of the crisis and the weakness of our local strategic position.

The charge against the Intelligence Division that it failed to supply the troops with sufficient topographical information and maps may be attributed to an imperfect appreciation of the magnitude of the theatre of war, of the political conditions in South Africa prior to the war, and of the time, personnel and money required for the carrying out of a systematic survey of so vast an area.

As regards topographical information, it was proved before the War Commission that the colonial section of the Intelligence Division had compiled and issued eleven volumes of reports and special reconnaissances, etc., in the various Colonies and States of South Africa. It was admitted that these reconnaissances only dealt with what were judged to be the more important localities and lines of advance, but a witness before the Royal Commission claimed—and the Commission, by quoting his statement in their report, appeared to allow the claim—that “in dealing with a large theatre of war, like South Africa, it is nearly impracticable to obtain all that may be needed. A good deal of the information has necessarily to be obtained by the staff of the army itself on the spot.”

The justice of this claim is, in fact, self-evident having regard to the time and trouble devoted

in all civilised armies to the training of officers, especially staff and cavalry officers, in the duty of reconnaissance in the face of the enemy. The British Army, however, notwithstanding its long experience of campaigns in unmapped jungles, deserts, and mountains, had had its judgment spoilt in this matter, by the issue in army manœuvres of the almost perfect one-inch ordnance maps. Manœuvres so conducted failed to afford practice in topographical reconnaissance under service conditions, and led to a neglect of that duty, which was one of the causes of some of our most serious difficulties in the earlier stages of the war in South Africa.

As regards the maps actually issued to the troops on the outbreak of war, it may be as well to recall the fact that, prior to 1901, when a small survey section was authorised for the Intelligence Division, that department possessed no machinery for carrying out actual survey work, and could only compile maps from such material as was obtainable by purchase. An enormous and practically unsurveyed area, such as two Dutch States and the British Colonies of South Africa, presented therefore very great difficulties. Of the Republican territory, the only map extant was a compilation of rough farm surveys issued by Mr. Jeppe in 1899. Natal had produced only a very inaccurate school-map on a scale of five miles to an inch. The Cape Government had issued a somewhat better map of Cape Colony, but its scale

—12½ miles to an inch—rendered it useless for tactical purposes.

It is easy to assert that Sir John Ardagh, knowing this unsatisfactory situation, should have found a remedy, but it is extremely difficult to support this assertion by showing what Ardagh could have done which he left undone. It is self-evident that, in the period of political tension before the war, it was impossible to undertake a regular survey of the Transvaal and the Free State, even if the time available had been sufficient. All that was practicable was to direct a few selected officers to traverse, in Cape carts or on bicycles, the main roads, and make rough, rapid sketches with pocket compass or from memory. Rapid reconnaissance of this character was commenced in 1896, and subsequently carried out, whenever opportunity and the very limited funds at the disposal of Sir John Ardagh permitted. During the three months preceding the outbreak of hostilities ten officers, specially sent out from England, were engaged in this and similar work.

The survey of the two British Colonies presented almost identical difficulties. It was the policy of the British Government to avoid all appearance of deliberate preparation for a conflict in South Africa. In self-governing colonies the duty of carrying out surveys, whether for military or purely cadastral purposes, is obviously a responsibility which lies primarily on the shoulders of the Colonial Government. For this reason this

responsibility has, in no single instance in the history of our colonial empire, been assumed by the Imperial Government. It was quite out of the question to ask the Imperial Government to break this rule in South Africa at a time when the Cabinet aimed at impressing upon all its desire to settle political difficulties by peaceful methods. What Ardagh did do, however, was this. In 1896 after the Jameson Raid, the strategic importance of the northern half of Natal became evident, and it was judged that, although a survey might be impracticable, a military sketch should be undertaken with as little delay as possible. Without, therefore, going to the Treasury for money, the Director of Military Intelligence despatched one of his own staff—Major Grant, of the Royal Engineers—to Ladysmith, and, with the assistance of two officers of the Natal garrison, a very useful sketch was produced of all the Colony lying to the north of a line drawn east and west through that town. Had but some fortunate inspiration led to the Tugela instead of the Ladysmith line being fixed as the southern boundary of the sketch, it would have almost completely met the requirements of British troops in Natal during the earlier phase of the war. Criticism on such a point is easy enough in the light of after-events, but at that time the offensive intentions of the Boers were not so clear to the Intelligence Staff as they became later. Ardagh, however, had by no means lost sight of the expediency of extending

southwards Grant's map, and in 1897, at the time of the first Colonial Conference, pressed the matter strongly on Sir H. Escombe, the then Natal Premier, obtaining from him a promise that, although there were local political difficulties, he would endeavour to take the matter in hand the following year. The death of Sir H. Escombe and a change of Ministry unfortunately rendered this arrangement nugatory. But the War Commission, in dealing with this incident in its Report, recorded the opinion that, owing to political feeling "for some years before the war, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for any Colonial Government in South Africa to have brought forward proposals for the preparation of maps for military purposes."

Meanwhile, the mapping section at Queen Anne's Gate had gathered to itself all map material of every part of South Africa which was known to exist in the shape of published maps and sketches, unpublished surveys, plans, or manuscript work, and in January 1899 commenced the compilation of a map on the scale of 1/250,000 of the probable lines of advance through the Free State and the Transvaal. Twelve sheets of the compilation were issued prior to October 1899, and the remainder shortly afterwards. But this map was later on superseded by another and more extensive compilation, undertaken by the Field Intelligence Division at Capetown, under the direction of Colonel G. E. R. Henderson. This latter com-

pilation was based almost entirely on Jeppe's map, a thousand copies of which Colonel Henderson had had the good fortune to secure in Cape-town in a parcel addressed to Pretoria. The report of the War Commission (p. 131), through some misapprehension, implies that Jeppe's map was not known to the Intelligence Division at Queen Anne's Gate. As a matter of fact, it had been in their possession for months before the war, and copies of it were issued to Sir George White's staff on that officer's embarkation for South Africa in September 1899.

The whole controversy as to this mapping question may, however, very well be summed up in the Royal Commission's own words, "that, although the maps supplied were, with perhaps one exception, very incomplete and unreliable . . . the outcry . . . was not altogether well-informed."

But if the outcry against the Intelligence Division as to maps, and as to the whole question of the preparations made in Queen Anne's Gate for the South African War was ill-informed, and if the information collated by the Division was, as a witness was able to assure the Royal Commission, "extraordinarily accurate" (par. 257 of Report), it may well be asked how it came to pass that the Executive Government, during the months immediately preceding the war, was so little influenced by the reports submitted by Sir John Ardagh's department. The primary answer to this question can best be given in the words of

the "Statement of the Intelligence Division" handed in to the Royal Commission (*vide* Appendix A of the Report):

It was the great desire of her late Majesty's Government to settle the difference which existed between Great Britain and the South African Republic by negotiation without involving South Africa in the suffering and loss entailed by war. The Government believed—and the wording of President Krüger's ultimatum shows how entirely justified this belief was—that, on the tidings of the despatch of an organised force from England reaching South Africa, the Boers would at once break off negotiations and commence hostilities. Thus, not only would the hope of a peaceful solution of the South African question have been destroyed, but hostilities would have commenced long before the force would have been in a position to take the field, and the necessary precautions would have failed to fulfil their object.

The weakness of our military position in South Africa was, in truth, not unknown to the Government and its military advisers, yet it constituted a factor impossible to eliminate from the whole extremely difficult problem.

But though this explanation was well founded and the considerations therein put forward cogent, yet one of the many lessons driven home on the Government and the British nation by the war was that the value of Intelligence work required greater recognition, and that the official status of the Chief of the Intelligence Department needed raising. The nation was amazed to learn, from the evidence given before the Royal Commission,

that some, at least, of the more important papers submitted by the Director of Military Intelligence had never been laid before the Secretary of State for War officially, although they had been shown to him privately by his "old friend, Sir John Ardagh." Still more astonished were the general public when a comparison of the Intelligence reports, published by the Royal Commission, with statements made by the then Prime Minister and another member of the Cabinet in the early days of the war (*vide*, p. 329 *supra*) made it evident that neither the Cabinet as a body nor the Premier individually could have been made aware of the facts set forth in those reports. Ardagh was, indeed, justified in saying that, throughout his term of office, he had been a *vox clamantis in deserto*; but it may be doubted whether by the then hierarchy of Pall Mall, friendly though its chiefs all were to Sir John, it was altogether accepted that the Director of Military Intelligence was at all entitled to claim possession of an official voice. The Intelligence Division, up to the period of the South African War, was, in fact, regarded by the rest of the War Office merely as a useful reference library. It was not recognised that a body of well-trained, selected officers devoting their whole time and energies, under a chief of Ardagh's calibre, to the study of the higher military problems, could not but acquire knowledge and form opinions which would be of the greatest assistance to the Executive in formulating a national military

policy, or in dealing with the vital matter of national preparation for war.

It was, perhaps, the triumph of Sir John Ardagh's career, the crown of his official life, that he so did his work at Queen Anne's Gate as to open the eyes of all to its true importance. The loyalty which endured in silence those many months of undeserved condemnation without ever asking for one syllable of defence from the Government, was amply repaid, not so much by the complete exculpation of the Intelligence Division, but rather by the national and official recognition of the value of its work and of the status which should be assigned to its staff. Sir John himself was not to profit by this, for the reorganisation of the Headquarters Staff, effected by Lord Roberts in 1901, coincided with the completion of Ardagh's five years' term of office as Director of Military Intelligence. But he was consulted as to the changes, and was in entire sympathy with the new departure in policy which reunited the mobilisation subdivision with the Intelligence Division into one department under a chief with the rank of Lieutenant-General and with an *ex-officio* seat, not only at the Army Board, but also—a far more important point—on the reconstituted Committee of Imperial Defence. Moreover, the personnel of the Intelligence Division was substantially augmented, its organisation improved and strengthened, and the whole establishment brought over from Queen Anne's Gate to Win-

chester House, St. James's Square, in convenient proximity to the Commander-in-Chief and Secretary of State.

Sir John Ardagh welcomed these developments very gladly. Indeed, they were in accord with his own recommendations. But when, at a farewell dinner given in his honour at the Army and Navy Club, he addressed his staff as a whole for the first and last time, he made no secret of his desire to see the further development of the new department into a great General Staff, upon whom, subject to ministerial control, the responsibility of forming and directing the military policy of the nation might rest.

The General Staff, which has since been given to the military forces of the empire, had many foster-fathers; indeed, long before Ardagh thus pronounced in its favour the hope of its birth had been cherished by not a few thinking soldiers. But the British Army is essentially, and perhaps rightly, conservative in its professional instincts, and, before welcoming any substantial change, seeks facts rather than theoretical arguments. To the revelation of Sir John Ardagh's work made by the Report of the War Commission, and the experience of the vital importance of General Staff duties afforded by the South African War, may be attributed in the main the ready acceptance by the Army at large of the new General Staff system.

But the officers who worked personally under Ardagh during the five years at Queen Anne's

Gate owe him more than this. To serve him was in itself an education, and a high privilege. The quick grip of the most complicated questions, the extraordinary receptive brain which listened silently, without observation or question, to verbal reports, and never forgot or dropped a single point,¹ the lucid mind and judgment which enabled minutes and memoranda to be drafted in that wonderfully clear handwriting without a moment's pause for deliberation or a single erasure—these were natural gifts which very few could hope to imitate or acquire. But besides this there was the ever-inspiring example of an absolutely unselfish, whole-hearted devotion to duty. The British Army and Civil Service produce many a man who gives the best of his life, of his health, strength, and time to his country; but few, very few are there who, like Ardagh, give the whole, thrusting from them every form of recreation, content to face, day after day and year after year, continuous, strenuous, incessant work without pause, without breathing-space, until exhausted nature decrees rest.

¹ The eye of a visitor entering Sir John's own room at Queen Anne's Gate was at once caught by the following notice, printed in large capitals on a card hung from a bookcase facing him :

When you visit a man of	} business.
Tell him quickly your	
Leave him to his	
Go about your own	

Yet except for this silent hint Ardagh's courtesy and patience both with his staff and others were never-failing, however pressing his personal work, and however ill he could spare a moment of his time.

Yet to those under him Sir John was no hard taskmaster. Leave had but to be asked for to be granted, and none but himself was required to work over hours. But his personal example made him in one sense a hard man to serve, for no one could see him work from soon after 10 in the morning to 8 at night, day after day, without being compelled, if it were but for very shame, to do what in him lay to allow no single piece of work to remain undone which could be done by prolonged labour and strenuous effort. Thus it happened that the Chief of the Intelligence Division was not the only man who suffered in health by the perpetual strain in that office.

But if Ardagh's example thus incited his Staff to some imitation of his self-sacrifice in the performance of duty, there was ample compensation in the personal kindness and consideration which they ever received at his hands. Their individual careers, their advancement, the official recognition of any special work they may have done, never seemed out of his remembrance. At critical periods of the South African War he assured himself, by special cablegrams, as to the welfare of those who had gone to the front from Queen Anne's Gate, communicating the replies at once to anxious wives or relatives. His support was never lacking if any officer who had worked to his satisfaction sought active service or some other employment. His private papers still show what trouble he took, unasked and unexpected,

to obtain honours for those whom he deemed to merit recognition.

Taciturn, undemonstrative, reserved in manner as Sir John Ardagh was, his singular kindliness and sweetness of nature could not be concealed from those who had the privilege of serving him, and of all his great gifts these are perhaps the most cherished in their affectionate remembrance.

CHAPTER XX

SOUTH AFRICAN DEPORTATION, COMPENSATION, MARTIAL LAW AND CHILE-ARGENTINE COMMISSIONS

1896—1902

Recapitulation of two previous chapters—Accuracy of the Intelligence Division—Policy of the Government—Strength of the Boers—End of military career—Employment by the Foreign Office—Varied occupations—Legal studies—Honorary work—Yachting in Norway—Trip to the West Indies—Situation in Canada—Tour in the Mediterranean—Crete—Bizerta—The Hague—South African Deportation Commission—Justice for Ireland—Conduct of the defence—Netherlands South African Railway—Settlement of claims—South African Compensation Commission—Voyage to South Africa—Central Claims Board—Investigation of Claims—Liability of State—Letters from Pretoria—Commission on Martial Law Sentences—South African Colonisation Society—Chile-Argentine Boundary Commission—Satisfactory settlement.

IT may be useful here to recapitulate the statements made in the two previous chapters, which have shown that Sir John Ardagh and his Staff at the Intelligence Department had done all, and more than all, than could fairly be expected of them, taking into consideration the means at their command; that the five specific charges brought against them in the Press were

fully disproved by the Royal Commission ; that these charges were put forward in error and in ignorance of the truth ; that they were unreservedly withdrawn by those who had originated them, after the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission ; that the reasons ultimately given by the Government for their inaction were, not that they had been misinformed, or uninformed, but that they had hoped by delay to avoid war, which any overt act of preparation might certainly have precipitated, and that they did not believe they could have carried the country with them at the outset had they appealed to Parliament for the necessary funds. A reference to speeches made by the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet in the House of Commons and elsewhere ; by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Wolseley in the House of Lords in special connection with the Intelligence Department ; and to the evidence given on the Royal Commission, will show those who care to pursue this subject further that the perfect electric circuit of confidence and information which ought to exist between the War Office and the Government was defective, but that the defect was located elsewhere than in the Intelligence Department.

It will have been noted that the state of tension between England and the Boer Republics already existed in 1905, the year before Sir John Ardagh took over charge at Queen Anne's Gate ; that therefore, even if he had been granted both the

men and the money required for this purpose, no surveying would have been possible in what was practically an enemy's territory ; and that from 1896 onwards he repeatedly pressed his views, both officially and unofficially. As regards the estimate by the Intelligence Department of the number of guns in possession of the Boers, Mr. Brodrick, who had succeeded Lord Lansdowne at the War Office, wrote in July 1900 : " I think the Intelligence Department deserve great credit for their accuracy before the war began in South Africa " ; and again in March 1901 he wrote to Sir John Ardagh : " I owe you thanks for much valuable information both at the Foreign Office and the War Office." Lord Roberts also at this date expressed his satisfaction.

Finally, it has been shown that the Intelligence Department, as it now stands, was reorganised on the very lines recommended by Sir John Ardagh, and that it has now been accorded the status and its head the military rank which are necessary to secure for it an audible voice in the councils of the nation privileges which had formerly been withheld.

Writing to me in September 1899, Sir John says :

I am firmly convinced that the prospects of peace would be greatly strengthened by the display of that military force which we can command, and which H.M.G. hesitates to show. The Cabinet may, of course, have excellent reasons for its decisions, which I am unacquainted with, but I cannot, from what I know, defend their attitude

as being the course most likely to end in peace with honour. It may so end, but the possibility of a peaceful solution on a satisfactory basis clearly varies with the measure of the power to enforce it, as visible to and appreciated by Krüger, Steyn and the Boer population, who at present seem to pin their faith on estimates like that of the old Boer grandmother in Rider Haggard's "Jess," who said to her sons: "I tell you the whole British Army numbers only eight hundred men. . . ."

In October 1899 he wrote: We shall be exposed to a good many rebuffs before our principal force arrives on the scene—and that not owing to the military authorities, who, including myself, have been preaching for years; but to those we serve, and the unconscious and self-satisfied ignorance of our masters.¹

Even now the ridiculous restrictions by which our rulers hamper and delay necessary action at critical moments will entail postponements very prejudicial to the conduct of the war. In order to call out the Reserves there must be an Order-in-Council and a summons to Parliament to meet in ten days—mere futile procrastination at a moment when expedition is of the utmost consequence.

Five months later Sir John writes:

April 1900.

I see no reason to admit any error whatever in the statistics and predictions which we made, and their correctness has been tardily acknowledged in Parliament. Even now the numbers and armament of the Boers are vastly overrated

¹ The constituencies. Lord Wolseley's letters of this date are even stronger in their expressions on these subjects.

by the Press, in spite of the *exposé* afforded by Cronjé's force of less than 4,000—which, until captured, was rated at 15,000 to 20,000: and the bolt of the Boers from Ladysmith, for no particular reason except that there were so few of them.

The defence all through has been most creditable to the Boers, and has brought into prominence the great advantage which modern weapons confer on the defence in general. The man in possession is better off than he ever was before: as indeed Kimberley and Mafeking have shown on our side.

There can be little doubt that the hard work, anxiety and worry silently endured by Sir John Ardagh, while Director of Military Intelligence, seriously affected his health. "It is not my time that they are taking," he said to me, "it is my very life-blood"; but, as he wrote at the close of the Royal Commission on the War: "There is no use in recrimination, otherwise I could have made my case much stronger."

At this period of his career as a soldier, Sir John Ardagh found himself faced with the fact that, owing to various causes which need not be detailed here, promotion in the Royal Engineers had been extremely slow, so that, in spite of his having received three Brevets for distinguished service, he was liable to be retired for age in August 1902, not having attained the rank of Lieutenant-General. He had held this rank locally in South Africa, but was not promoted or granted honorary rank on retirement after

forty-three years' service and under exceptionally trying circumstances.

At the time of his handing over the Intelligence Department Sir John Ardagh was advising the Government on several important questions, among which were the expedition to Jubaland for the punishment of the murderers of Mr. Jenner ; the operations in the Somaliland Protectorate against the Mullah ; negotiations with the Congo Free State as to the leases of the Bahr-el-Ghazal district under the agreement of May 1894 ; negotiations with King Menelek as to the western and southern frontiers of Abyssinia ; the arbitration on the frontier between Chile and the Argentine Republics ; and he was also employed in drawing up a Code of Regulations for the use of British officers, in accordance with the recommendations of the Peace Conference at the Hague.

"I should regard it as a great misfortune," writes Lord Lansdowne¹ in April 1902, "if we did not have the benefit of your assistance in one shape or another."

The Foreign Office, therefore, "considering the importance and complexity of these questions, and that, in regard to them, the loss of Sir John Ardagh's experience and intimate knowledge of the correspondence would place the department at a serious disadvantage," applied for an extension of his period of active service, and their request was so far acceded to that his

¹ Then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

special employment for about six months was sanctioned.

In a letter written in 1903 to Sir James Gowan, Sir John Ardagh enumerates the varied subjects on which he was engaged at this moment, and which will be dealt with more fully in succeeding pages, as they arise.

When, at the end of my five years' period, I left the post of Director of Military Intelligence in May 1901, I was already engaged in various matters requiring separate attention. There was a Departmental Committee on our Submarine Telegraphs, of which I was a member, the report of which was laid before Parliament last spring. There was a Commission on Foreign Claims for Compensation before which I represented H.M. Government as against representatives of most of the Powers. That matter, which mainly concerned compulsory deportations, being finished, I was sent out to South Africa as British Agent in reference to miscellaneous foreign claims in connection with the South African War, and, having brought them into as forward a state for adjudication as the still existing hostilities admitted, I returned in June and resumed consideration of the dispute between Chile and Argentina, for the settlement of which an Arbitration Tribunal had been appointed of which I was a member.

In July a Royal Commission, consisting of the Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Bigham and myself, was appointed for the revision of martial law sentences in South Africa. We went there in August and returned at the end of October. The cases were numerous. All had been tried under martial law, and in strict conformity with the rules of procedure of military law.

The records were remarkably good, and we never had occasion to go behind them. Though some of the original sentences were severe, they were not more so than the circumstances demanded, and in most cases were mitigated by the confirming authority. There was not the slightest trace of vindictiveness, and the fairness and earnest desire of the Courts to give every opportunity to the accused were conspicuous. It was our duty to advise the exercise of clemency whenever we reasonably were able to do so. We released many—mainly on the grounds that they were young, and under the influence of others. We recommended extensive reductions in punishment, and only maintained severe sentences in cases which would have merited them under any circumstances. We did not perceive any reason to advise an amnesty—particularly in Cape Colony, where it was only too evident that the rebellion was mainly due to the Bond, and in particular to an Act passed in the Cape Parliament, by which five years' disfranchisement was practically made the penalty for high treason.

By means of rapid movement in a special train, we managed to get through our task and return at the end of the long vacation, with our report complete for presentation.

When that was disposed of I reverted to the Chile-Argentine Arbitration Tribunal, and we proceeded to draw up our award.

The next incident which I must mention is that, having reached the age of sixty-two on August 9, 1902, without having attained the rank of Lieut.-General, I was *ipso facto* placed on the retired list—a fate which happens to many who like it as little as I do. However, I am fully prepared to recognise that it is desirable to have young generals, and that the only way to find room for them is to compel their elders

to retire. My military career is therefore at an end. I am happily in a more fortunate position than most of my fellow-sufferers, mainly owing to the great diversity of occupations and business which I have had, although a soldier, during my forty-three years in the army. In the course of arbitrations, settlements of claims, and demarcations of boundaries in many parts of the world, I have devoted a good deal of time to legal studies, particularly international law, and have taken part in many congresses, conferences and conventions. I have recently been nominated to succeed Lord Pauncefoot as a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration established under the Hague Convention of 1899. Under the terms of that Convention I am entitled to assume that I am "a person of recognised competence in questions of international law, and enjoying the highest moral consideration"! It is satisfactory to have such a character! But virtue is its own reward, for no remuneration is attached to the office—unless actually employed in an arbitration, which of course rarely happens. I was amused at a remark of a friend of mine in the Treasury, who said he understood it to be a fundamental principle in that department never to inflict upon arbitrators the indignity of offering them any pecuniary remuneration. Nevertheless, I already find that this purely honorary occupation seems to bring me abundance of consultative work,¹ for, as a matter of fact, there are not many practical international lawyers

¹ With reference to the Venezuela claims, and also to the admission of the non-signatory Powers (including the Central and South American Republics), a question which was left open for the settlement of conditions of adherence, because the Powers who are parties to the Arbitration Convention did not see their way to unanimity at the time. "This also," writes Sir John

who know where the shoe pinches, and I happen to be one.

In connection with the same subject, I believe that I shall be one of the British representatives at the approaching Geneva Convention.

I now come to another occupation, the appointment which I owe to Lord Lansdowne, who has nominated me as one of the Government Directors of the Suez Canal Company. . . . This entails going to Paris to the monthly meetings, and attending to a good deal of the contentious business relating to shipping.

To revert to Sir John Ardagh's private life. Between 1896 and 1901 it was spent in London, varied by occasional runs abroad, generally out of Europe and with some special object in view. In August 1896 he writes, dating from the *Mira*, R.Y.S., off Norway :

Before I left England a month ago I had felt overworked, and admit that I was glad to get out of reach of correspondence. We have been round the North Cape (lat. 71.10), and to Vadsoe, which was one of the localities chosen to observe the eclipse of the sun. Unfortunately the astronomers were disappointed, for we only saw the sun at intervals, while the eclipse was

to a friend in South Africa, "gives me plenty to do and little to get—the antithesis of Sam Weller's soldier.

"I have, however, much reason to be thankful—and especially to the Foreign Office and Lord Lansdowne, for their great kindness in giving me these congenial occupations. The Suez Canal Directorship will be remunerative, as I shall not forfeit my pension by receiving the fees, which will amount to a good round sum, and will enable me to bear with equanimity the economic principles of the Treasury."



RAFT SUND, LOFOTEN.
From a Water Colour Drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

THE RAFT SUND, LOFOTEN.
(From the "Mira," R.V.S., 1884-6.)

coming on, and not at all during the 104 seconds of totality.

After paying a flying visit to Lapland, we are now returning towards Bergen, visiting places of interest on the way, and I hope to be back by the first of September. The party consists of Fred Wynn, the owner of the yacht ; Bayard, the American Ambassador ; Charlie Beresford, Lord Mostyn, Freddy Lawless and Paul Upperton. The yacht is of 340 tons burden and 400 horse power, and averages 11 knots. We have had pretty fine weather, but cloudy and, in the Arctic regions, very cold. . . . Most of the course along the Norwegian coast leads through intricate channels between rocky islands, but the water is generally very deep, some of the inland fiords being as much as 4,000 feet at more than a hundred miles from the open sea. During our outward voyage there was practically no night, but as we have come south the sun sets earlier, and it now gives barely light enough at midnight to read by, and not enough for dangerous navigation. I have done a great deal of sketching, and Charlie Beresford has caught 120 lb. of salmon.

We remained in London from September till the following June (1897), when Sir John went with Lord Wolseley to Glynllivon and ascended Snowdon by the cog railway. During the following month he received the degree of LL.D. (*honoris causa*) from his Alma Mater, Trinity College, Dublin, and was elected shortly after to the Travellers' and Cosmopolitan clubs, being already a member of the Athenæum and United Service. He had been for many years a fellow of the

Royal Geographical Society, and had served on the Council ; and he was also an Associate of the Institute of Civil Engineers.

Just before Christmas we started from Southampton on a trip to the West Indies, visited Barbados, the Windward and Leeward Islands, British Guiana and Caracas. Sir John sketched many of the islands and harbours, and we received a cordial welcome wherever we had time to stay, more particularly from Sir James Hay and General Fowler Butler at Barbados, and Sir John Goldney at Trinidad.

We returned to England in February 1898, and in August Sir John acted as one of the umpires during the autumn manœuvres, held for the first time on Salisbury Plain.

THE CANADIAN SITUATION IN 1898

Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Hutton writes :

Sir John Ardagh had a real interest in Canada, and it was largely due to him that, early in 1898, the initial steps were taken which brought about the essential reforms in the maladministration of the Canadian military system revealed by the Venezuelan Crisis consequent on President Cleveland's message.

The result of these reforms was shown, firstly, in the enthusiasm which prompted Canada to insist on the despatch of troops to South Africa, in spite of the objections raised at first by the Laurier Cabinet ; and, secondly, in the very satisfactory development which is now gradually



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

p. 366]

JACOBUS RIVER, FRONTIER BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NORWAY, 1896.

placing Canadian military affairs upon a permanent and effective basis.

These two excellent results were anticipated by the far-seeing prescience of Sir John Ardagh, who was an ardent admirer of Mr. Chamberlain's policy.

In August 1898 Sir John wrote to Senator Sir James Gowan, in Canada :¹

The past six months have been extremely interesting, and the war will have a far-reaching influence on the development of American institutions and the reflex consequences in Canada. The Munro Doctrine, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the Army and Navy, the Civil Administration, and the very constitution itself, require remodelling. I imagine that no one in America foresaw, and that very few now realise, the tremendous changes which must ensue. Most of them will be very beneficial to her, and I hope they may lead to a closer union between us, as well as to the creation of a class of officials who may be inspired with more dignity and seriousness than has hitherto (with brilliant exceptions) characterised their public men. You have two generals in Canada, Lord William Seymour and Hutton, both of whom thoroughly deserve to be popular. The latter will, I feel, have a hard task before him, for the time has come for considerable reforms in your military system. I can assure you, you give us a great deal of anxiety !

You have also a committee to draw up a scheme of defence—General Leach, Colonel Dalton, R.A., Captain White, R.N., and Colonel

¹ See also pp. 324-331.

Lake, whom you already know as your Quarter-master-General.

Kitchener's campaign was admirably conducted ; and you sent us from Canada a young R.E.—Girouard—who does you great credit, and who has already dropped into a high appointment on the Egyptian Railway Administration, where he will, no doubt, earn more distinction.

Sir John Ardagh spent his leave in December this year in visiting Gibraltar and other important places in the Mediterranean. At Malta Sir Francis Grenfell, then Governor, was most kind and hospitable, as were also Lord and Lady Congleton, who were living at one of the beautiful *alberghi* formerly belonging to the Knights of Malta, but now the official residence of the General in Command.

From Malta we went to Tunis in a *Transatlantique* steamer crowded with French troops sent as a reinforcement in consequence of the Fashoda scare ; stayed with Sir Harry Johnston, our Consul-General, at La Marsa, an ancient Arab house not far from the site of Carthage, and from thence went to Bizerta, where we paid a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Terence Bourke, at the British Vice-Consulate. We saw the curious *Transbordeur*, or ferry, across the neck of the still more curious double harbour used as an arsenal by the French, and then crossed over to Sicily, finally returning to Malta, where we embarked on the transport *Verona* for Crete.¹

¹ The constant troubles and insurrections in Crete had led.



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

P. 368]

GIBRALTAR, FROM BEHIND THE SIGNAL-STATION, 1899.

We touched at Canea and anchored at Kandia, under the frowns of the Cretan Olympus. Sir John spent his morning in the Headquarters office with Sir Herbert Chermiside, and after luncheon returned there to finish his business. The anchorage in the bay is very bad and sudden squalls sweep down from Mount Olympus over the little town, which was still partly in ruins after the bombardment. Night came on and every one was on board except Sir John Ardagh. A violent gale arose and the captain of the *Verona*, who had kept up steam all day in anticipation of trouble, began to feel worried. The anchor was dragging, the night dark, the sea high and, there being no sign of Sir John, he proceeded to get under weigh for Limasol. The anchor was in mid-air when the missing passenger arrived, drenched to the skin, the waves breaking over the little boat in which he was rowed from the shore, and at last we were able to get away.

After landing at Alexandria, where we found Sir Ronald Lane, then commanding the troops

in 1896, to the intervention of the Powers, and an International Commission was sent to organise a Gendarmerie. On this Sir Herbert Chermiside was the British representative. In the spring of 1897 a serious outbreak occurred in Canea. The Powers landed contingents. In most cases they were under the senior naval officers; in our case they were commanded by Sir Herbert Chermiside as British Commissioner. In the autumn of 1898 the Turkish authorities were forced to evacuate the island, and the city of Kandia became the headquarters of a district garrisoned by the British. Colonel (then Major) Fairholme was Assistant British Commissioner.

there, a delightful host, and where Sir John revisited with keen interest the scene of his former labours in 1882, we returned to England in March, but in May, owing to his appointment as Technical Military Delegate at the Hague Conference, took up our quarters in "the most charming village in Europe" with the rest of the British Delegation.

In Sir Julian (afterwards Lord) Pauncefoot we found an old friend and a considerate chief, as amiable and unselfish as he was able and distinguished, and we all took great interest in a pretty young girl with fair hair, a rosy complexion, blue eyes and a head particularly well set on her shoulders, who, as Queen of Holland, brought vividly before our minds what our own Queen must have been when she first came to the throne. Queen Wilhelmina was always accompanied by her mother, to whom she owes an excellent education. She spoke English like a native—as do most of the educated Dutch—and, by a neatly turned and well-delivered speech made at a dinner given to the foreign delegates, completely won their hearts.

Great attention and civility were shown us by Baron Clifford,¹ both at the Palace, when the Queen entertained the Delegations, and elsewhere, as also by M. de Karnebeek, M. and Mme.

¹ The Queen's Treasurer and trusted adviser. His family, a branch of the English Cliffords, settled in Holland two hundred years ago. He died in 1908.

de Beaufort, respectively Foreign Minister and Mistress of the Robes, together with other members of the Government ; and on many occasions by Sir Henry Howard, our Minister, at the Legation, made beautiful with valuable old furniture and pictures which for years he had been collecting in various quarters of the globe.¹

Several balls were given at the Legation, where Admiral Sir John Fisher, as a dancer, distinguished himself no less than in defending his country's interests at the Huis ten Bosch.

In the meantime certain local papers, which ought to have been better informed, were holding up to public reprobation the Dum-Dum bullet, and the cruelties which England was accused of perpetrating on defenceless native races. Pictures of this engine of destruction in every stage of "expansion," together with representations of horrible wounds described in lurid language, appeared in a journal which was distributed broadcast (and gratis) to all and sundry.

In 1900 the pension for distinguished service was awarded to Sir John, who was also appointed by the Royal Society a member of their Geodetic Arc Committee. In this year he was elected to The Club, which has been described as the highest social honour to which a man can aspire. The Club was founded in 1764 by Sir Joshua Reynolds

¹ Sir Henry's collection was wrecked, when he left the Hague in 1908, between the Hook and Harwich. The greater part was recovered, but sadly injured by sea-water.

and Dr. Johnson, and during its whole existence had numbered under three hundred members—all men of note in different ways.

SOUTH AFRICAN DEPORTATION COMMISSION

On April 29, 1901, as previously mentioned, Sir John Ardagh was chosen by His Majesty's Government to act as their Agent before a Commission which had been appointed to investigate claims to compensation made by the subjects of friendly Powers in consequence of their deportation to Europe by the military authorities.

Mr. Milvain, K.C., now Judge-Advocate-General, was President of the Commission, the other members being Major-General Upton Prior, Major-General the Hon. Herbert Eaton (now Lord Cheylesmore), and Mr. C. A. Wilkins, previously Judge of the High Court of Calcutta. Mr. J. F. Foster was Secretary to the Commission. Sir John Ardagh was assisted by Major Edmonds and Mr. Platt of the Foreign Office.

The Commission held its first public sitting on April 30 and its last on November 13 of the same year. During this period the Commission investigated and reported upon 1,252 claims out of some 1,700 brought before them, and at the close of their labours rather more than 400 still remained for further consideration.

The incidents which led to the appointment of the Commission, and which gave rise to the

majority of the claims laid before it, were somewhat unique in character and the details revealed in the proceedings before the Commission were not altogether devoid of a humorous side. The military authorities at Johannesburg were much embarrassed by the presence of a considerable number of aliens of doubtful character, many of them without any certain or permanent employment, and most of them bitterly hostile at heart to the British occupation. In the course of July 1900 the military police discovered the existence of several plots among this population for the murder or kidnapping of Lord Roberts and other British officers, for the seizure of forts and for further measures with the object of placing the town in the possession of the Boers. They took measures to crush these machinations in the bud, and on the night of July 13, 1900, they arrested some 450 persons of foreign nationality, and placed them all in confinement for the night. On the following morning lists of the persons so arrested were handed to the Consuls of the countries to which they belonged, with a request that the Consuls would designate the names of those individuals for whose respectability and good conduct they were ready to vouch. Upwards of a hundred persons were liberated on guarantees thus obtained from the Consuls, or on other grounds; the remainder, to the number of about 350, were despatched with all possible promptitude by train to the coast, and were placed on board

transports which had brought reinforcements from England, and which were starting on their return voyage. The Government at home was informed by telegraph that these individuals were on their way, and was requested to make arrangements for disposing of them on their arrival.

On the receipt of what may be described as little short of an official bombshell, the War Office and Foreign Office held anxious consultations, and in the end it was decided that the expelled persons should be met on their landing by agents who should tender to them steamboat and railway tickets for the journey to their native countries with a sufficient sum for maintenance on the way, and should inform them that any complaints or claims for compensation must be forwarded in proper course through their respective Governments. These terms were accepted, though not always without considerable demur and remonstrance. It may, however, be supposed that on reaching their homes the aggrieved individuals were neither slow in making their complaints nor moderate in their statement of loss and claims for indemnification. In the meanwhile the military authorities in South Africa were so satisfied with the success of their *coup* and so sensible of the relief it had brought them at Johannesburg that they proceeded to resort to similar methods elsewhere, with the result that for months scarcely a transport arrived on its return

to England without bringing its cargo, more or less numerous as the case might be, of what were technically termed "undesirables."

The ultimate result was the presentation to the British Government of some 1,670 claims, for a total amount of compensation of rather more than a million and a quarter sterling.

In its broad lines the action of the military authorities could be defended on the ground that military commanders have the right of removing from the theatre of war any persons whose presence constitutes a danger to the forces under their command, and further that every State has the right of expelling aliens whose residence in its dominions constitutes a menace to public security. But there ought to be sufficient evidence of the necessity for such measures, and in any cases where good cause cannot be shown or where the expulsion has been attended with circumstances of hardship, compensation may reasonably be claimed on behalf of the sufferer by his Government, if not as a matter of strict obligation, at all events as due on considerations of comity and equity. It was obviously impossible, in operations conducted in so wholesale a manner, and with perhaps necessary haste, that all mistakes should have been avoided, and one rather amusing instance of this occurred in the course of the autumn. An individual whose name at first sight seemed certainly to give evidence of outlandish, not to say barbaric origin,

and who had been deported in company with a batch of "undesirables," was found, on arrival in England, to be a member of a respectable Cornish family, who had been pursuing the profession of coachman, but was for the moment out of employment and looking out for a job. He appealed to the Member of Parliament for his division of the county, and had to be appeased by a substantial *solatium*, which he grudgingly accepted, declaring that it in no way compensated him for being thus rudely torn up by the roots in the midst of a promising career, and replanted, all unwilling, in the less productive soil of his native country.

It was, of course, expected that out of the claims presented a considerable proportion would be wholly inadmissible, and still more would be grossly exaggerated, and this expectation was thoroughly fulfilled.

The various headings under which compensation was demanded were of a most remarkable description: consequential damages—moral, intellectual and nervous—figured largely, sometimes to more than half the amount stated to have been incurred directly by losses occasioned by the action of the British Authorities, and it was generally remarked at the time that never, even in the palaces of South African millionaires in Park Lane, had so much valuable bric-à-brac been collected as was stated to have been housed in the Transvaal in mud hovels whose owners

had been summarily deported for excellent reasons.

One horse-dealer suffered moral and intellectual damage which he assessed at £10,000, while another individual valued his character and conscience at the paltry sum of £30 only. A Russian claimant attached considerable importance to the fact that, although of noble birth, he had been turned out in the night in the same homely sleeping attire as that in which Mr. Steyn was reported to have made his escape.

As an illustration of the class of cases brought before the Commission by persons undoubtedly concerned in active hostilities against our forces, Sir John Ardagh remarked :

À propos of the singular notions of equity and obligation to indemnify which are entertained by some of the subjects of friendly Powers, the following story was told me, about twenty years ago, of an Irish case in connection with the Land League. A woman requested an interview with a Home Rule M.P., and told her tale as follows :

"My name is Kitty Flannagan, and when the Emergency men came with the bailiffs and the police to evict Larry Mulcahy, who hadn't paid his rent for five years, 'twas I who split Constable Whelan's head with a pick-axe and of course I expected to be compensated for my patriotism. Well, your honour, would you believe that when the Land League funds were distributed, the divvle a sixpence did I get, but they gave five-and-thirty shillings to Biddy Mullowny, who did nothing at all but pour bilin' water on the heads of the bailiffs. Now, sir, do you call that justice for Ireland ?"

Sir John Ardagh was instructed to call and examine witnesses, procure and produce documentary evidence, and from time to time address the Commission on behalf of His Majesty's Government. He was authorised to employ counsel if he considered it necessary; but, in spite of the fact that most of the claimants were represented by members of the legal profession, he did not find it requisite to do so, as, owing to previous study and to the experience he had gained in former employment under the Foreign Office, he was familiar with international law and practice in similar matters. His opinions and action in this delicate and responsible position were fully endorsed by the Law Officers of the Crown, who approved of the lines on which he conducted the defence of the Government. He prepared a careful analysis of the cases submitted to the Deportation Commission, and displayed a curious and complete mastery of details in the past history of the claimants in a way which many of them found extremely damaging, while others preferred not to appear in person at all before a tribunal so amply acquainted with their antecedents, although His Majesty's Government undertook to refund the expenses of their journey, if advanced by their several Governments, in the event of their establishing their claims.

The war in South Africa was not yet concluded, and it was unfortunate that at the time of the arrest and deportation of the various claimants,

no sufficient steps had been taken to put on record a statement of their circumstances and of the property of which they were possessed. The military authorities lent the Commission such assistance as was in their power for the investigation of their claims, and Sir John's remarkable powers of persistent research stood them in good stead.

Among the claims which the Commission rejected, either as being outside the scope of their functions or inadmissible on their own merits, were those brought forward, as a body, by the employees of the Netherlands South African Railway Company ;¹ by those persons who had been engaged in the plot to murder Lord Roberts and other British officers ; or who, by their labour in the mines, had provided the Boer Government with gold, which—in common with other articles, such as arms, ammunition, coal, or grain—enable an enemy to carry on hostilities, and is therefore classed as contraband of war.

Many of the claims, as has already been stated,

¹ With regard to the Netherlands Railway Company, certain facts were fully proved. The company was a Dutch Company, seated in and directed from Amsterdam by a Board of Directors composed of Dutchmen and Germans. It was under contract with the Boer Government to perform certain services in the event of a war. The employees, who were of various nationalities, had, under the guidance of their Director-Manager, been, generally speaking, hostile from the beginning of the war. They were, therefore, under the terms of reference of the Commission, disentitled to relief. Compensation was, however, allotted, as an act of grace, to those employees who had suffered real hardship, and against whom no acts of a hostile character had been proved.

were preposterously exaggerated, many had very little foundation in fact, and the task of settling the exact amount to be paid in each case seemed almost interminable. As the sittings of the Commission were costing the nation several hundred pounds a day, Sir John Ardagh suggested that an endeavour should be made to settle with each foreign Government the payment of a lump sum in satisfaction of the claims of its nationals, and to leave to those Governments the task of distributing the money among the individual claimants. This proposal was welcomed by all concerned, and during the parliamentary recess, when the sittings of the Commission were suspended, Sir John Ardagh carried on the negotiations. Almost all available space at the Foreign Office was occupied for other purposes, and it had only been possible to assign for his use an extremely small room on an upper floor. This very limited accommodation was, however, more to his taste than more commodious quarters elsewhere, as it gave him easy access to persons whom he had constantly to consult and to documents which were required for reference. Here, therefore, he established himself, and, as there was no waiting-room in the neighbourhood, the passage was for some weeks thronged with the representatives of foreign Powers, with learned counsel and other visitors. The negotiation was one for which no person better adapted could have been found. He was by nature singularly fair-minded, quick to recog-

nise the strong points of an adversary's argument, endowed with an imperturbable patience of temper, and at the same time strongly tenacious of any ground on which he felt that he had right on his side.

In the end, after many laborious discussions, he succeeded in effecting acceptable settlements at a total cost to the country of about 8 per cent. of the gross total of the original claims.

The tact and judgment displayed by Sir John Ardagh in the negotiations as to the settlement by lump sum were highly commended by His Majesty's Government, who expressed their thanks to him for the way in which he had accomplished his delicate and difficult task. They added that his knowledge, not only of international law but of the laws and customs of war, had been of the greatest service on this occasion.

Certain claims were, by mutual agreement, reserved for further discussion, owing partly to their not coming within the competence of the Commission and partly to the evidence not being complete in consequence of the continuance of the war.

All arrangements having been concluded, claimants were referred to their diplomatic representatives in London for the payment of their demands, and Sir John Ardagh, accompanied by Major Edmonds, was sent to South Africa by the Foreign Office to represent the Government with respect to certain claims excepted from the

general settlement already reached and made by subjects of friendly Powers before the Central Claims Board then sitting in that country. They accordingly left Southampton for Cape Town at the end of December 1901.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMPENSATION COMMISSION

The passage was rough, the ship rolled heavily, and Sir John Ardagh wrote home that his luggage and effects executed a *pas* which was anything but *seul* until he was able to construct with them a sort of *parquet*, proof against movement, on the floor of his cabin. He was the only member of the party immune from sea-sickness, and the total loss of appetite from which he had suffered for some years was metamorphosed into quite a normal desire for food under the enlivening influence of the sea. During the gale a quartermaster slipped and was killed. Sir John, as the ship passed, made a rapid water-colour sketch of the Peak of Teneriffe, which he raffled for £10 for the benefit of the man's family. He regretted, for their sake, that he had not priced it at £50, which it would easily have fetched.

He found himself well known to all the passengers, chiefly owing to the fact that copious extracts from the "Military Notes on the Dutch Republics" had been published in the South African papers.

The notices which were posted up on the ship as to permission to land were translated into

German, Russian and Hebrew, thus indicating the quarters from which the contraveners of the regulations on the subject were likely to come. The cold had at first been intense; snow had fallen, and Sir John attired himself in his Afghan *poshteen*—a long, loose coat made of sheepskin, the wool turned inside and the outside elaborately embroidered with bright yellow silk and trimmed with Astrakhan. This garment, which Sir Robert Warburton had had made for him in Kabul, proved, when surmounted by its appropriate Afghan head-gear, a comfortable if somewhat remarkable costume.

On January 5 the ship passed Cape Verde, and sighted Dakar and Goree, the French naval station, once in our possession. It recalled the strange history of Governor Wall, who had a negro soldier so severely flogged that he died. Twenty years later, when he must have thought himself safe from the consequences of his brutality, he was arrested, tried for murder, and hanged. Dakar was the last land sighted on this side of the Equator.

Sir John Ardagh, who could never bear to waste his time, occupied himself with the study of a voluminous German treatise on international law. He confessed that he had many times gone to sleep over Holzendorff's *Völkerrecht*, the long-windedness of which, he wrote, surpassed all imagination, with its *Vorläufige Begriffs-Bestimmungen*. Still, he found that it contained shafts

for his quiver on the subject uppermost in his thoughts.

The problem which Sir John had been set to solve was a complicated one, as is shown in a letter written by him shortly after his arrival at Capetown on January 24. In addition to the reserved claims already mentioned, it appeared that a large number of others had been presented in South Africa by aliens for losses and damages alleged to have been incurred in consequence of the war, and that these foreign claims, as brought before the Central Claims Board, were interspersed with a far larger number of claims made by British subjects, some against the military and some against the civil authorities. For dealing with the military claims a Central Claims Board had been constituted as a supervising authority, having under it in each military district a local Board charged with investigating those cases which fell within its boundaries. The former body was composed of members each of whom had already an important department to administer, requiring almost the whole of his time. It seemed impossible to expect them to sit from day to day to hear foreign claims. The District Boards were small investigating bodies reporting to the Central Board, whose duty it was to make the final award for reference to the High Commissioner, Lord Milner, and the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener. There were in all twelve District Boards and the gross number of the claims was



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

p. 384]

SPION KOP, 1902.

about 40,000, of which only seven or eight hundred, or about one in fifty, were foreign ; but, though these last were few in number the amount involved was considerable, being close upon £700,000, more than half of which was claimed by German subjects. It seemed likely that the latter would push their demands with much pertinacity.

Taking into consideration the comparatively small number of the foreign claims ; the attitude of the parties concerned ; the difficulty which the British and foreign agents would experience in attending the sittings of the Central Board at irregular intervals ; the fact that the foreign agents might be detained for an indefinite time and that they might not in the end be satisfied with the award of a purely military Board, but reserve the matter, as was their undoubted right, for reconsideration and revision (in which case the final adjustment could only be arrived at after ulterior diplomatic discussion of a contentious character between the various Governments concerned and the British Foreign Office) ; that no settlement could take place until after the actual cessation of hostilities and, in any event, in view of the large sum involved, without most careful consideration by both the British and foreign agents,—Sir John Ardagh recommended that three new members, consisting of one military officer not under the rank of colonel, one legal member and one gentleman of large experience in South Africa should be appointed to the Central

Board to try the foreign cases, and that the original members should have the right, but not the obligation, to attend, thereby enabling them to devote themselves to more pressing business. He considered that by this system much valuable time would be saved and, probably, in the long run, much friction avoided, as matters were not yet ripe for a lump sum settlement.

While this proposal was under consideration the affair, for one reason and another, dragged on; little or no advance was made with the investigation of the foreign claims and, until they were ready for examination by the agents of the Powers, nothing could be done. Sir John Ardagh, therefore, commenced the necessary inquiries at Pretoria, and entrusted the investigation to Lieutenant-Colonel Edmonds. It took some time to collect all the foreign claims and group them into nationalities, and a still longer time to complete the reports and prepare them for examination.

In the meantime, in anticipation of the close of the war, Sir John Ardagh set himself to study the whole question of compensation on a broad basis, and also the question of the future settlement of South Africa, with which it was intimately bound up. He drew up a memorandum dealing with the points which seemed to him of paramount importance, such as the Repatriation of Burghers, Taxation, Naturalisation, Irrigation, the State-aided colonisation of South Africa by young,



From a drawing by Sir John Ardagh.

capable and respectable women, each of which, he considered, would be, if of the right sort, a valuable addition to the new colonies. On this latter point, Sir John's views met with approval and support from the High Commissioner, and his scheme took root, flourished, and in course of time developed into what is now called the South African Colonisation Society.¹

In general [writes Sir John on the subject of Compensation] there is no legal liability incumbent on a State to compensate for losses in war. This doctrine is based upon the performance of such an undertaking being a matter of chance, dependent upon the fate of the war. If compensation be granted it is given *ex gratia*, and not *ex debito justitiæ*, and is subject to such conditions as the grantor may see fit to impose.

There are, however, certain obligations of a moral character incumbent upon the State, viz. : to conform, in so far as military necessities permit, with the laws and customs of war and with international law ; to obtain redress for its subjects and those under its protection ; to distribute the burden of the losses which have fallen upon individuals over the population at large ; and to relieve those who have been reduced to indigence or poverty by no fault of their own. To these may be added the moral obligation of administering conquered territory in such a manner as to mitigate suffering and restore prosperity in so far as is consistent with general interests.

¹ For a full account of the foundation by Sir John Ardagh of this important society for the protection of women emigrating to South Africa, see Appendix D.

There being no immediate prospect of arriving at an adjustment of the claims which Sir John Ardagh was primarily instructed to investigate, and urgent business demanding his attention at home, he requested and obtained permission to return. Before leaving Pretoria he wrote the following letter to a friend in England :

PRETORIA, *April* 1902.

I feel entitled to a *Nunc Dimittis* now that I have completed a general survey of the important points bearing on compensation. I was disappointed to find how little had really been done towards settling the foreign claims, and how much remained to do. Even the little done will need much revision. The natural tendency of the mind militant is towards liberty for every man to wallop his own donkey. One of the friends with whom I have to discuss these matters, in the course of conversation told me that it would save an immense amount of trouble if there were no ridiculous laws and customs of war! "Yes," said I, "every young officer would then be able to do as he pleased, and sensible orders—like that ordaining that all cocks in the village should be slain at once because their crowing disturbed his slumbers—would not meet with absurd criticism. But," I went on, "you make some of these laws yourselves. You lay down that claims must be sent in within two months, or they will be rejected. How is a man who has gone to another quarter of the globe to know of or to comply with your proclamations?"

— declaimed at length against having any Geneva Convention, or any ambulances or doctors. "War," he said, "is war and humanity is rot!"

These, no doubt, are extreme cases. I have

asked a good many people here who is going to pay for all this damage and requisition and for setting the burghers on their legs again, and the general answer is—"John Bull."

Writing to me from Pretoria in March, Sir John says :

I send you a Johannesburg *Star*, by glancing over which you will perceive how very little information or comment is allowed to leak out here. Not a single word has transpired in the local papers about Lord Methuen's operations of late, and I shall imitate the censor's reserve, as you will know much more than I do, long before this reaches you. We only hear (barring confidential communications) what has taken place when the English newspapers come out a month afterwards. Certainly the Boers are a singular people. They strip, plunder and release our prisoners, but exact no parole from them not to fight again.

The seasoned old hands do not fall easy victims to their slimness, but the inexperienced new units of Yeomanry are a perfect mine of wealth to them in the way of ammunition and clothes. The announcement that many thousands of that arm, entirely untrained and inexperienced, are coming out here positively excites dismay; but at home it appears to be regarded as a sign of vigorous administration.

Sir John Ardagh left Pretoria in May, and returned home viâ Natal, where he sketched the battlefields and places of interest.

COMMISSION ON MARTIAL LAW SENTENCES

In 1883, when Sir John Ardagh was Instructor in Military History, Law and Tactics at Chatham, he had published a pamphlet on military and martial law. In later life he had intended to condense the voluminous notes, based both on personal experience and on study, which he had been many years in collecting, into a convenient book of reference on international martial law. His time, however, was fully occupied and leisure never came, but in October 1901 he assisted Professor Holland in preparing a handbook on the subject.

It may be remembered that he had been employed by the Foreign Office, the War Office and the Treasury in the adjustment of differences arising out of the conflicting rights and interests of various nationalities, and I am informed on the best authority that among the many valuable memorandums written by him, one on the boundaries of the Sinai Peninsula was of great assistance in averting serious trouble between England and the Porte.

Previous to Sir John Ardagh's employment in South Africa on the Compensation Commission, he had been consulted by the Colonial Office on certain somewhat obscure points which had arisen in connection with the administration of martial law during the war, and shortly after his return he was appointed a member of the Martial Law Commission, of which Mr. Justice Bigham has been kind enough to give me the following account :

In the summer of 1902, shortly after peace had been concluded in South Africa, Mr. Chamberlain, who was then at the Colonial Office, resolved to appoint a Commission to revise the sentences which had been passed by the military tribunals in South Africa upon rebels. Many of these rebels had been transported during the war to serve long terms of imprisonment in St. Helena and elsewhere, and it was thought wise to remit or to reduce their punishment.

Accordingly the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Alverstone), Mr. Justice Bigham and Sir John Ardagh were named by the King, on the recommendation of Mr. Chamberlain, to undertake the task of revision. All three were to have left for South Africa by the s.s. *Briton* on August 9, but the day of sailing happening to coincide with the date of the King's coronation at Westminster, the departure was postponed until the next day, a Sunday, when Sir John Ardagh and Mr. Justice Bigham left. Lord Alverstone was prevented from accompanying them by the untimely death of his only son, but he followed by the next boat. Each Commissioner had been supplied with a copy of the evidence taken in the cases to be revised and as soon as the *Briton* had put out to sea Ardagh began his work upon this mass of written material. There were about one thousand cases in all, each one requiring care and thought. Ardagh, alert and keen, would rise in the morning by six o'clock and come on deck immediately after his bath. Here for an hour or more he would read—generally some book of verse, Byron being one of his favourite authors, although he usually carried about with him miniature editions of Keats, Tasso, Ariosto and Dante. After breakfast he would bring his work, sitting on deck, if it were fine, with his despatch box before him. The papers relating to each case were carefully

read, the points noted and the alterations in the sentences indicated for subsequent discussion with the other two Commissioners. The work was rapidly done, but there was never any haste or hurry. The details of each case were recorded in his mind and could be recalled at any moment, his memory being singularly accurate and retentive. His suggestions as to the remission or reduction of a sentence always inclined to the side of mercy, for, like all great soldiers, he had a kind and gentle heart.

Only in cases where the prisoner had offended more than once or had tempted others to rebel, would he show anything like severity: and he always remembered that one object of his labours was to allay the soreness from which the Boers at that time suffered. His life on board ship was simple. He seldom joined in the games on deck: and he had a positive distaste for cards. His relaxations were confined to reading and to conversation—and how delightful it was to talk with him! An active and varied life had stored his mind with all manner of information, and if he liked his companion his knowledge would be imparted freely and clearly, but always with modesty and restraint.

On arrival at Capetown he was received and entertained by Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson, the Governor of Cape Colony, and by others whose acquaintance he had made during his previous visit to South Africa.

At Capetown he awaited the arrival of Lord Alverstone, and when at the end of a week the Chief Justice arrived, the work of the Commission was taken seriously in hand. The Commissioners sat for many days in Capetown, and at the end of the time they were in a position to telegraph home a list of remissions which they were able to recommend, and so to secure the release of a large

number of men who were up to that time in prison. From Capetown Ardagh went to Kimberley, where more work had to be done. Here he inspected the great diamond mines, and examined the arrangements made for the accommodation of the native labour employed in working them. When the Commission left, the manager of the mines presented each of them with a fine specimen brilliant, which was afterwards cut and polished. While in Kimberley the Commissioners met Dr. Jameson and Alfred Beit, who were on their way to Rhodesia upon business in connection with the railways then in course of construction.

After Kimberley, Bloemfontein was visited, and later on Johannesburg and Pretoria. Here Ardagh met Lord Milner and his staff, and General Sir Neville Lyttelton. It was at the time when the Government of the Transvaal was being organised by Lord Milner, and the relations between the Boers and the British were not cordial. Ardagh's feeling towards the Boers was never concealed: he thoroughly distrusted them, and was convinced that, if an opportunity arose, they would seek again to throw off the British rule. He took the greatest interest in the country and its possibilities, as to the extent of which it is not improbable that he deceived himself, and valued the newly acquired State at a price far beyond its real worth.

Some days were passed in Johannesburg and Pretoria, the Commissioners being entertained at the one place by Lord Milner and at the other by Sir Arthur Lawley, the newly appointed Governor of the Transvaal. Meanwhile the labour of revising the martial law sentences steadily proceeded, Ardagh working at it day by day. A long railway journey then brought the Commissioners to Ladysmith, which still at that time bore the marks of the siege which it had endured at the hands of the Boers. Spion Kop, Colenso

and many other places were also visited by Ardagh during his short stay in Natal.

The Commission went to Pietermaritzburg and finally to Durban, at which latter place the party embarked on the *Kinfauns Castle*, bound for Southampton. The steamer touched at Cape-town for a couple of days, where Ardagh and his fellow Commissioners were entertained at a banquet by the Chief Justice, Sir J. H. de Villiers. England was reached by the end of October.

The part which Ardagh took in the work of the Commission was of the greatest value. If in earlier days his warnings and advice had been listened to we should perhaps have been spared the costly and disastrous war in South Africa. They were not listened to, but the work which he was allowed to do in connection with the Commission, after peace had been declared, contributed not inconsiderably to allay the bitterness felt by the Boers for their British fellow-subjects.

During this time the South African Colonisation Society, which Sir John had initiated, and to working out the details of which by our Committee I had been giving all my time and thoughts, had grown apace and, with letters of introduction from Mr. Chamberlain, I went out to South Africa in the transport *Dunera*, soon after my husband's departure, to ascertain the results of the efforts made in that country by the various local Committees, which had been working so hard and so well.

I found the state of affairs on the whole very satisfactory, but was detained so long at Cape-town and Bloemfontein that I was unable to rejoin my husband, whose movements had been

extremely rapid. I felt rewarded for my toilsome journey by the insight I had gained into the needs and wishes of employers and employed at a distance of seven thousand miles from our busy central office in London. During my stay I received great kindness from Sir Walter and Lady Hely-Hutchinson, and paid a delightful visit to Lord Milner at Johannesburg, where I obtained much useful information from the ladies who were managing the Hostel there, established by the Government of the Transvaal for the reception of our colonists.

CHILE-ARGENTINE BOUNDARY COMMISSION

Differences had existed for some years between the Republics of Chile and Argentina respecting the interpretation to be placed on the Treaty of July 23, 1882, and the Protocol of May 1, 1893, which had for their object to fix the boundary between the two countries and, as in 1898 no agreement had been reached, the question was submitted for adjustment by Her Majesty's Government, who accepted the office of Arbitrator and appointed a Tribunal, consisting of Lord Macnaghten, Lord of Appeal, Major-General Sir John Ardagh, R.E., and Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, R.E., to settle the matter.

It may be as well to recall [writes Sir John Ardagh in 1901] that the cardinal divergence between Chile and Argentina is in the abstract very simple and absolutely irreconcilable. The

Chilians claim the water-parting of the South American Continent as the boundary, *i.e.* that the basins of all waters which flow into the Pacific shall be Chilian; and the basins of all waters which flow into the Atlantic shall be Argentine. Argentina, on the other hand, claims that the main range of the Andes,¹ as defined by the highest mountains, should be the boundary, irrespective of the fact that it is broken through by many rivers whose sources lie to the eastward, *i.e.* on the Atlantic side of the highest mountains. They claim, in short, a visible frontier in the snowclad peaks of the Andes.

For many hundreds of miles, in the best-known portion of the frontier, it so happens that the main mountain-range is also the water-parting of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and here there was little or no room for dispute, but the technical terms employed in the Treaty were ambiguous and obscure, many different languages were used—Latin, Spanish, French, English, and German—and parts of the territory in question were unexplored, while others were absolutely inaccessible. It was evident that the terms of the Treaty could not apply to these latter and that the case, though a very difficult one, was suitable for compromise.

The labours of the Tribunal covered a considerable period, and the documents produced on both sides were so voluminous as to present a quite formidable appearance; indeed those supplied to each member of the Tribunal alone

¹ The great mountain chain which extends from the Isthmus of Panama to the Straits of Magellan.

would certainly have turned the scale at a hundredweight.

In spite of this plethora of matter, the geographical information available was insufficient and the Tribunal therefore recommended the despatch of a British survey party to collect on the spot material for an award. Sir Thomas Holdich, accompanied by a staff of two or three assistants, eventually carried out this difficult and arduous work.

Sir John Ardagh's services could not be dispensed with by the War Office, and he did not accompany the party, but, on the strength of the report made by them he drafted the text of the Award and, with Sir Thomas Holdich, he defined the actual line of frontier. Lord Macnaghten, as President of the Tribunal, examined and concurred in the drafts, and the Award was adopted and delivered by the King, who, after his accession, became himself the Arbitrator, greatly to the satisfaction of the two Republics.

By these means a compromise was effected which was accepted by both parties and even described by Señor Alejandro Bertrand, the Chilean expert and representative, as "a fair solution, prompted by equity and good feeling." The Argentine Government was equally complimentary.

Thus a long outstanding cause of friction which had nearly led to war between Chile and Argentina was permanently removed, and a peaceful understanding secured, based on mutual good will, and giving fair promise of endurance.

CHAPTER XXI

REVISION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION AND SUEZ CANAL DIRECTORSHIP

1906—1907

British Red Cross Society—Dutch Ambulance at Elandsfontein—Status of Red Cross Associations—Revision of the Geneva Convention—Signature of the Convention—Provisions of the New Convention—International Red Cross Conference—Recommendations of the Conference—Suez Canal Directorship—Canal dues—Settlement of differences—The Suez Canal Company in Egypt—Assuan revisited—Kindness and consideration—The end.

BOTH as a man who had been employed in administrative capacities, who had seen active service in the field and was acquainted with the dark as well as the brilliant side of military life, Sir John Ardagh had a deep sympathy with the Red Cross movement. His care had always been for the sick and wounded—for the pawns unhappily sacrificed in the great gambit which is played to defend a nation's honour or to secure its safety, where money and lives must be spent without too nearly reckoning the cost.

During the Egyptian campaign of 1884-5 he had rendered valuable service to the National Aid Society in his official capacity, but it was

not until 1904 that he joined that body, continuing with it until it merged, in 1905, into the British Red Cross Society, when he was elected a member of the Council appointed by the King and Queen.

One who was intimately associated with him writes :

The influence of Sir John Ardagh, in so far as it has come under my own personal knowledge in connection with Red Cross work, was shown in three ways. Firstly, it was in 1897, when he was Director of Military Intelligence, that the report on the Sixth International Conference of Red Cross Societies was submitted,¹ and both the Quartermaster-General (Sir F. Harrison) and Sir John Ardagh took the matter up. It was at the latter's suggestion that the representatives of the National Aid Society, the Army Nursing Reserve and the St. John Ambulance Association were brought together at the War Office. As a result, the British Red Cross Committee was formed to co-ordinate and organise the work of these voluntary aid societies in time of war, although Sir John had no part in drawing up the regulations. The importance of the foundation of this committee before the South African War broke out has not, perhaps, been fully realised, but it was very great indeed, and the initial step must be attributed to Sir John's suggestion on the report of the International Conference of Red Cross Societies.

Secondly, while the South African War was in progress, a little book was published by the Intelligence Department on the Organisation for

¹ By Lieut.-Colonel Macpherson, C.M.G., R.A.M.C. (Medical-Intelligence Department).

Voluntary Aid in Foreign Countries (Germany, France and Austria), with an Introduction signed by him drawing attention to the value of, and necessity for, organising Red Cross Societies in time of peace.

Thirdly, he wrote an important minute for the Foreign Office on the international questions raised by Lord Kitchener's action in ordering the Dutch flag to be hauled down from a Dutch ambulance captured from the Boers. In that minute he put forward very clearly the position of voluntary ambulances and pointed out that they had no rights whatever under the Geneva Convention of 1864, except as an act of grace. His views were fully corroborated by famous foreign jurists, such as M. Renault and M. de Maartens, at the Conference of Red Cross Societies which was held in 1902 at St. Petersburg.

The circumstances of the case alluded to above, as set forth in a memorandum communicated to the Foreign Office by the Netherlands Minister, Baron Gericke, in July 1900, were as follows :

A Dutch Red Cross Ambulance at Elandsfontein on May 29 had hoisted upon it the Netherland national flag. A British officer lowered and carried away the flag. Lord Kitchener came up and inquired what the ambulance was. Dr. Hollander, who presumably was in charge, replied that it belonged to the Netherland Red Cross, and that a British officer had deemed it his duty to lower the Netherland flag. Lord Kitchener accepted the responsibility of having given the order and added, "I will not allow any other flag in this country, except the British."

Dr. Hollander replied that, in conformity with the Geneva Convention, he had the right and the

duty to fly the flag. Lord Kitchener told him he did not care.

Baron Gericke characterised this action of Lord Kitchener as an infraction of the Geneva Convention, but in his minute on the subject Sir John Ardagh puts the matter in a very different light.

A study of the text of the Convention [he wrote] will make manifest that its terms apply exclusively to the military hospitals and ambulances of belligerent Powers; and no allusion whatever is to be found in it as to the status of ambulances and hospitals, Red Cross Associations, or societies for the aid of the sick and wounded organised by voluntary effort, or in neutral States. Internal evidence is to be found in the Articles that the material and personnel to which they apply are essentially military and appertaining to belligerents.

Sir John shows, by a detailed résumé of the points which bear upon the matter, that the omission in question was not an accidental oversight, but deliberate and intentional, and points out that the custom had hitherto been for voluntary aid societies to fly the flag of the belligerent for whom they were acting. He adds: "This is, however, not the first war in which the mistake has been made, nor is it an unreasonable or reprehensible one"; and he urges the necessity for an early revision of the Convention, in the sense of placing aid societies upon a

defined international basis, and formulating rules for their guidance.

A short history of the movement for the aid of the sick and wounded in war, written by Sir John Ardagh in December 1900, will be found in the Appendix (E).

REVISION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION IN 1906

In February 1903 the Swiss Federal Government proposed to hold a Conference at Geneva for the purpose of revising the Convention of 1864. Delegates were appointed by the British Government, and during that year Sir John Ardagh presided at eight meetings held by them to consider and draft a *Projet de Revision*. This Conference was, however, postponed on account of the apparent disinclination of the Powers to attend and a second invitation was issued in 1904, but was again put off on account of the Russo-Japanese War.¹

Finally, in 1906, the Federal Government sent out a third invitation to a Conference, which met at last in June of that year. Sir John Ardagh, Professor Holland, K.C., Sir John Furley,² and Lieut.-Colonel Macpherson, were constituted

¹ Sir John Ardagh received on his death-bed from the Empress Marie Féodorovna of Russia the Red Cross Commemorative medal for his services to the Committee during the Russo-Japanese War.

² Sir John Furley's experience of Red Cross work extends over forty years, in almost every part of Europe, and he was also in South Africa during the war as Chief Commissioner of the British Red Cross Society.

Plenipotentiaries, with Lieut.-Colonel Edmonds as Secretary.

M. Odier, the Swiss Minister accredited to St. Petersburg, was elected President, and the venerable M. Moynier, who had taken an active part at the Conference of 1864 and in almost every Red Cross Conference since then, was nominated *Président d'honneur*. The sittings took place in the beautiful Hôtel de Ville, where the Committees met in the Salle de l'Alabama, the scene of the first Geneva Conference and of the Anglo-American Arbitration in 1871 on the so-called "Alabama Claims," from which the hall derives its name. The meetings of the full Conference were held in the Salle du Grand Conseil.

The new Convention, which was signed in July 1906, practically in accordance with suggestions made by Sir John, entirely supersedes that of 1864 and aims at remedying its defects, as viewed in the light of modern scientific discovery, of forty years' practical experience of warfare, especially in that of the Boer and Russo-Japanese Wars.

It eliminated, as far as possible, all ambiguity or obscurity which the text of the articles of the first Convention had been found to contain and provided, for the first time, for the care of the dead as well as of the living. It established the necessity for the use of a mark of identification on ambulances and their *matériel* and *personnel* which might easily be seen at a considerable

distance, and laid down what flags Voluntary Aid Societies were authorised to hoist, *i.e.* a Red Cross on a white ground, together with the flag of the belligerent to which they were attached. The Convention defined the non-religious character of the Red Cross emblem as that of an heraldic sign formed by the reversal of the Swiss Federal colours, adopted *par hommage à la Suisse*, as a mark of respect to the parent society at Geneva.

It was thus made plain that the Red Cross was not adopted as a Christian emblem, consideration being shown to the feelings of Mohammedan nations, which would otherwise prefer the use of the Crescent as a sign ; as indeed they did in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877.

Finally, a special chapter was devoted to the prevention of abuses and infractions of the Convention, and articles were framed binding all signatory Powers to introduce legislation to prevent the emblem or name of the Red Cross being used as a trade-mark by private individuals or societies not entitled to do so, for commercial purposes, or in any way other than as the emblem of neutrality of an army medical service.

Owing to the great difficulty which the British Government expected to encounter in carrying out such legislation, the British delegates signed the Convention with reserve as to these articles, but expressed, in the form of a *vœu*, their entire approval of the principle involved.

The hotel where the British Plenipotentiaries resided looked on the lake of Geneva, and from their windows, on clear days, Mont Blanc was faintly visible in the distance. The kindness and hospitality extended to the foreign delegates by the Swiss was beyond expression, but Sir John Ardagh, whose health had begun seriously to fail, was unable to profit by it. After the signature of the Convention we went to the Bernese Oberland and Berne until Sir John was recalled to Paris and London by his duties as a Director of the Suez Canal, and during the rest of the summer and autumn, in spite of rapidly diminishing strength, he continued to travel to Paris every month to attend the meeting of the Suez Canal Company.

In June 1907 the Red Cross Society held its eighth International Conference in London, and Sir John Ardagh took part in its labours for the last time as a delegate for the Central Committee.

During the sittings of the Conference the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1906 were considered and approved; the employment of women in military hospitals in time of war was strongly urged, as also the organisation of dispensaries and schools for practical training and the award of certificates; a *vœu* was expressed that the various societies should be put in touch with the naval authorities, in order that the services of the Red Cross Societies might be

utilised in time of war ; it was recommended that neutral nations should be permitted to enter besieged cities and assist in the transport of the sick and wounded ; and that, in time of peace, the societies should assist, particularly within their own special sphere of the army, in fighting the scourge of tuberculosis. Many other resolutions of importance as regards the government and federation of the Aid Societies were also agreed upon.

The delegates were received by the King and Queen both at Buckingham Palace and Windsor, and they were entertained at many of the great houses in London.

As an Annexe to this Conference, a Red Cross Exhibition was held in connection with the fund established in 1902 by a gift of 100,000 roubles from the Empress Marie Féodorovna of Russia, the interest from which was to be devoted periodically to prizes awarded to the best inventions for the amelioration of the sufferings of the sick and wounded in war.

THE SUEZ CANAL ¹

Although the International Red Cross Conference mentioned above was actually the last occasion in which Sir John Ardagh appeared in public, and although his appointment as a Director

¹ A short history of the Suez Canal Company written by Colonel Ardagh in 1882 will be found in the Appendix (F).

of the Suez Canal took place in March 1903, I have reserved this subject to the last, as he held the appointment up to the time of his death.

It may be remembered that in 1876 Captain Ardagh had already begun seriously to study the Nile, particularly with regard to its annual inundation, and also the system of canalisation in Egypt, including the Sweet-water and Suez Canals, subsequently surveying the two latter in their entire length, and preparing an elaborate report on the subject for the War Office.¹ He was, therefore, well qualified for the post which he had now undertaken.

I may remind the reader that Great Britain is represented on the Council of the Suez Canal by ten Directors, three of whom are appointed by the Government in virtue of the large number of shares held by them. The other seven Directors represent, for the most part, the more important English shipping lines. Prince Auguste d'Arenberg is the President, and Sir Thomas Sutherland (Chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental Line) one of the Vice-Presidents of the *Conseil d'Administration*.

Almost from the first opening of the canal a vexed question had arisen, causing considerable friction between the shipowners and the canal, which was authorised to levy certain dues on each "ton of capacity" of vessels passing through

¹ He also surveyed a considerable portion of the Nile and of the surrounding country.

the canal. The term was somewhat vague, and at the outset was held to signify the net registered tonnage as given by the English or Moorsom system of measurement. In 1872, however, the Company began to levy dues on the gross tonnage, which was equivalent to making each vessel pay 50 per cent. more than had been previously the case.

The shipowners protested; M. de Lesseps appealed to the Sultan; and in 1873, at Constantinople, an International Conference was held which reported that the net tonnage based on the Moorsom system of measurement and arrived at by certain rules, now known as the "Constantinople rules," gave the capacity of a vessel. They also recommended an arrangement by which the Company could raise the revenue necessary to meet its requirements.

The Sultan adopted the new rules for the Turkish Empire, of which the Suez Canal forms a part, and subsequently M. de Lesseps, in 1876, accepted them with certain modifications, in a convention signed between him and Colonel (afterwards Sir John) Stokes, R.E. This convention was agreed to by all the Maritime Powers and the matter was laid to rest for a time.

In 1883 a Provisional Agreement was entered into, which is known as "The London Agreement," and by which improvements were effected in the system of tariffs of the Company, just as the tonnage question had been settled in 1873.

Time, nevertheless, brought further changes in

the conditions under which the Canal Company was obliged to carry on its enterprise, and these changes brought in their train, with reference to transit dues and tonnage measurement, fresh difficulties which had assumed an acute form at the time of Sir John Ardagh's appointment as one of the official directors—or *Administrateurs*, as they are called in Paris—and he devoted a considerable amount of time and labour to securing a satisfactory solution, which was reached in January 1903. It was, in fact, in a great measure owing to his exertions that these differences were eventually settled for this generation at a conference between Mr. Gerald Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, on the other hand, and Prince d'Arenberg and Sir John Ardagh on the other, together with their official advisers. For his services on this occasion Sir John received the thanks of the President and the whole Council of the Company.

But if Sir John had duties connected with his work on the Board of the Suez Canal, he had also pleasures which followed upon them. Nearly every winter some of the Administrators proceed to Egypt for purposes of inspection, etc. The Company own at Port Saïd and Ismaïlia two beautiful villas which are called the *Résidences administratives*, and Sir John stayed at each of these on several occasions. At the latter the most kindly and hospitable welcome was extended to him by Prince d'Arenberg.

He writes from Ismaïlia in February 1904 :

It is still rather cold, though the sun is hot. Roses, Bougainvilliers, Hibiscus, and geraniums are in bloom. There is not a single mosquito here ! Formerly I could never stay at Ismaïlia or Port Saïd without contracting malaria, but, owing to the stringent regulations of the Administration respecting stagnant water, every mosquito—and consequently fever—have disappeared. The Suez Canal Company have a good hospital in a healthy spot, under the charge of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, and they also tend a dispensary, which is very popular, particularly with the natives, who come in their thousands from great distances. The number of consultations last year was 42,000.

I am better, but tired, and feel as if I should like a whole day of absolute rest.

From the *Résidence* at Port Saïd he wrote of the wonderful works carried out by the Company, which, acting the part of a benevolent despot over territory where they have absolute control, change sea into land, land into sea, and barren tracts of country along the canal, where the sand blows and silts up the water-way, into woods and green fields of waving reeds. Under their rule towns grow, villages spring up and cultivation extends.

He made expeditions on tugs and launches belonging to the Company, and caught strange parti-coloured monsters in the Red Sea. He inspected new works, dredgers, coaling arrangements, workshops, and, in short, saw all he wanted to see either for pleasure or duty.

Among other places of interest, he visited an ancient ruined town, the name of which has not been identified, to the north of which is a hill where, according to Arab traditions, the sister of Moses retired when she was afflicted with leprosy for her disapproval of her son's marriage with an Ethiopian woman. Sir John suggested that, in view of the enormous heaps of broken pottery found there, the site might be fixed as that to which Job repaired for his provision of potsherds.

Every year he went up the Nile to Assuan, whence he writes in 1904 :

My hotel here is on the island of Elephantine. Assuan was a mud village when Grenfell and I lived on a dahabieh here in 1886. Then it was a frontier garrison, and there was an occasional brush with the Mahdists. Now people dine in evening dress to the strains of a Hungarian band.

Formerly at this time of year Philæ used to be rather too high above the Nile for beauty, but it is now quite the reverse. Only one temple remains with its floor above the water. The barrage has about two hundred sluices, and of those only a dozen are now open ; through them pours what is allowed to form the Nile, and which flows down stream between this and Cairo at about two miles an hour. Above the barrage the river has become a vast lake with rocky islands, and the effect extends for over a hundred miles up stream.

Owing to severe illness, I had been unable to leave England between 1903 and 1905, but in 1906 had sufficiently recovered to accompany my husband to Egypt. It was then that he

visited for the last time the land he loved so well, and where he had spent six of the best and happiest years of his life.

Sir John Ardagh's presence on the *Conseil d'Administration* had been received by his colleagues, both French and English, with satisfaction, and a respect which ripened on further acquaintance into the affection which he seems always to have inspired in those with whom he associated.

His varied experiences [writes Mr. H. T. Anstruther]¹ in every quarter of the globe and the many adventures which he had gone through formed a fund of interesting and amusing narrative. He was a pleasant travelling companion—versatile, unselfish, courteous and never ruffled. The President of the Company—himself the most considerate of chiefs—soon learned to look upon the general as one of his firm friends. This sentiment was shared by the whole of his French colleagues, and not least by the principal officials of the Company by all of whom his appointment was much appreciated.

The confidential despatches passing between the official directors and H.M. Government give evidence of the keen insight which Sir John brought to bear upon the issues on which it was his duty to advise and report, and the clearness with which he was wont to set out the salient points even of highly technical and controversial questions was of real assistance to all parties

¹ At the time of Sir John's appointment his official colleagues were Sir Henry Austin Lee, K.C.M.G., Secretary at the British Embassy in Paris, and the Hon. Sir Charles Fremantle, K.C.B. The latter was succeeded in the autumn of 1903 by Mr. Anstruther.

concerned, and often led to an equitable settlement. . . .

During the later years, when it was not easy for the general to take so full a part either socially or officially with his friends and colleagues, it was touching to notice their solicitude for his health and comfort and their willingness to relieve him of any unnecessary strain. Both French and British vied with one another in tokens of affection and concern—perhaps the most cordial of all being his college-chum, compatriot and life-long friend, Lord Rathmore.

Prince d'Arenberg expressed great personal regret that he could not preside at the Council of the Suez Canal Company on October 7 following Sir John Ardagh's death. The feeling of the Board was, however, expressed by the Senior Vice-President, M. Charles-Roux, who spoke of the void which the loss of their colleague had created in their midst.

Few careers [he continued] have been so fine and so full. A splendid soldier and a splendid public servant, in the field of diplomacy and in the field of action he has been distinguished for forty years. Others can testify to the worth of his services in those spheres: our concern is with his work as a director of this Company. His application and devotion to its affairs were never at fault; the part he played in many a difficult negotiation was often of great service to the Council; his acute mind and stable judgment were a help in every case and led to the speedy solution of many questions, and his zeal for work did not impair the generosity of his character nor detract from the sympathy

that he always felt for all. He has left nothing but friends at this Board, but friends who know how to keep his memory green.

On behalf of his London associates, Sir Thomas Sutherland, Chairman of the London Committee of the Suez Canal Company, wrote as follows :

We too feel his loss most deeply, for we were proud to have, as one of our body, an officer so eminent as Sir John Ardagh, and whose record stands out in the annals of the military and diplomatic history of our generation. As a representative of H.M. Government on the Board of this Company, co-operating with those on whose behalf I write, he brought to bear that great experience of affairs, independence of judgment and conciliatory attitude which had at all times distinguished him in whatever direction his work lay. I can only add one word as to my personal feeling on this occasion, that the memory of Sir John Ardagh will always remain with me as one of the finest examples I have ever known of broad-minded capacity and intense devotion to the interests he was called upon to serve.

I cannot more fitly conclude this record than with these kindly appreciations of my husband's character and of the work which he was able to accomplish in his strenuous life.

He died at Glynllivon in September 1907, from the effects of over-work, and was buried, by his own desire, at Broomfield, in a beautiful little country churchyard nestling in the heart of the Quantocks, and close to the old manor-house where I had passed my childhood and where we had spent many happy days together in our youth.

APPENDIX A

THE TURCO SERVIAN WAR (*see* p. 43)

CAPTAIN ARDAGH, reviewing the military and financial resources of Turkey and Servia, just after the completion of the operations, concludes that the former country had the advantage in both respects, but that in the matter of supplies the parties were on an equality, the harvest having just been reaped, there being an abundance of corn in the country and a fair proportion of cattle and pack animals.

Among the population in the area of war he found a large number of Mohammedans, and was of opinion that the feeling, while to a certain extent against the Turks, was not so much so as was generally supposed.

Setting aside all complications, the movements on either side centred on the aim of the Servians to invade Bosnia and hold Servia, and that of the Turks to invade Servia and hold Bosnia.

Among the preparations for war made by the belligerents, Captain Ardagh notes "an extraordinary and startling scheme for closing the navigation of the Danube to the Turks by

blowing down the stupendous cliffs, known as the Iron Gate, in the gorge below Orsova, by means of dynamite."

The Servians were the aggressors in the war, and the Turks, having no desire to initiate a rupture, maintained an attitude of passive observation from their fortresses and garrisons on the Servian frontier.

The Servians appeared to Captain Ardagh to aim at three distinct operations : firstly, to cross the unfordable river Drina by means of pontoons and take Bjelina Svornik and Serajevo, the latter being the capital and key of Bosnia. Secondly, to capture Novi Bazar and Mitrovitza, the latter being the terminus of the Salonika railway. Novi Bazar was the local seat of Government and administration, and of great importance to the Turks, not only to guard the road to Bosnia and the Iber valley, but to cover the railway communication with the sea.

The third combination of the Servians was based on their entrenched position at Deligrad, near Alexinax, in the valley of the Morava, from which point an endeavour was made to sever the Turkish line of communications with Sofia and Constantinople.

The main line of road from western Europe to Constantinople [wrote Captain Ardagh] has been from time immemorial that by Belgrade, Alexinax, Nisch, Sofia, and Adrianople. It has been fought over century after century, and is always likely to preserve its importance. . . .

It may be observed once for all [he continues] that there are no good roads in the theatre of

war. The best are nominally metalled, but in a most inefficient manner. Where they pass along steep slopes, the level portion is supported on a revetment of hurdles and fascines, which in time decays and falls away, when the filling of loose stones disappears and the road becomes impassable. In the mountain districts the communications are mere paths, sometimes so steep that it becomes necessary to dismount and lead even the experienced indigenous horses. . . . Distances are measured by the number of hours a man on horseback ordinarily requires to traverse them. The hour's ride averages three miles. . . .

Nisch lies in the south-east angle of the triangular plain, marked by Kurvingrad, Mustapha Pasha Han and the mountains of the Servian frontier. It has 1,000 Turkish and 1,500 Christian houses, forming the town on the left bank of the Nisava and connected by a fine bridge with the fortress on the right bank. . . . High walls, strong palisading, ditches which can easily be put under water and numerous marshes on the land side constitute, together with the unfordable Nisava, the principal strength of the fortress. Nisch has very often capitulated, but has rarely been taken. An Austrian garrison, under Dochat, surrendered to the Turks in 1737. The officers of the garrison were tried by court-martial by the Austrians, Dochat was beheaded and the others imprisoned. Since then it has remained in Turkish hands. In 1809 a Servian force entrenched itself near the fortress, but was invested by the Turks. The commandant, Sing-jelic, seeing no prospect of relief, blew up the powder magazine and put an end to all his friends and a large number of his foes. An edifice, called Kele Kalessi (The Tower of Skulls), was built by the Turks with the heads of the slain.

From July to November the war continued, the Turks having the advantage, though hampered by the operations in Montenegro, which, however, contributed little or nothing on the whole to the vital issue of the struggle. On October 31 the Turkish troops entered Alexinatz and on November 1st Deligrad, both places having been abandoned by the Servians. It was at this juncture that the Russians declared war against Turkey.

APPENDIX B

THE LAY OF THE WOODEN SPOON

*Verses written by Major Ardagh, after the Conference
on the Greek Frontier at Berlin in 1880*

HERE follows the lay of the wooden spoon.
He was last, because he started too soon,
With the protocols of that meeting in June,
From the Conference of Berlin.

PROTOCOL I

The Powers found for once they could all agree,
To give Greece Epirus and Thessaly ;
So they each sent a plenipotentiary
To the Conference of Berlin.

II

Prince Hohenlohe sat in the President's chair ;
Five Ambassadors all were there ;
The Turk alone was left *en l'air*,
At the Conference of Berlin.

III

De Launay was doyen *par excellence*,
The Comte de St. Vallier sat for France,
Czechenyi dropped in quite by chance
At the Conference of Berlin.

IV

Sabouroff represented the Tsar,
And last, not least, but quite on a par,
Came Lord Odo—and there you are,
With the Conference of Berlin.

V

There were Technical Delegates likewise sent,
To give advice on questions anent
The districts through which the new frontier went,
At the Conference of Berlin.

VI

To make it complete there were adjoints too,
And maps all coloured in yellow and blue,
Showing what was old and what was new,
At the Conference of Berlin.

VII

They met in the new Auswärtiges Amt,
A palace well built and by no means cramped;
Their proceedings were with solemnity stamped
At the Conference of Berlin.

VIII

A proposal which met the views of most
Was that Blume should take the President's post,
In compliment to their Imperial host,
At the Conference of Berlin.

IX

Sir Lintorn propounded the English view,
Which proved to be that of Perrier too—
'Twas very remarkable how he knew—
At the Conference of Berlin.

X

De Ripp and Zwiedinek gave their support,
Sironi chimed in with the views of his Court,
'Twas odd that no one backed up the Porte
At the Conference of Berlin.

XI

By one of diplomacy's curious freaks,
'Twas found that the Russians befriended the Greeks;
But Bobrikoff finally swallowed his leeks
At the Conference of Berlin.

XII

Unanimity then prevailed,
A line was drawn which no one assailed,
Though at certain points information failed
At the Conference of Berlin.

XIII

'Twas agreed that the line of the Congress ran
From the Kalamas mouth to Kalbaki Han,
Thence, along the coast, to the Ægean
At the Conference of Berlin.

XIV

Then the plenipotentiaries solemnly sat,
And came to the wise conclusion that
The Technicals hit off the proper thing pat
At the Conference of Berlin.

XV

Being all in the same identical boat,
They proceeded to frame an identical Note,
To be held like a knife at the Sultan's throat
From the Conference of Berlin.

XVI

Then the protocols duly were signed and sealed,
And despatches were written which can't be revealed—
Their contents such ominous statements concealed
From the Conference of Berlin.

XVII

They were carefully closed and put in a bag,
Addressed to F.O. with a cross on the tag,
And carried home straight by Major Ardag(h)
From the Conference of Berlin.

XVIII

The parting at Berlin was really crushing ;
While the rest of the party to Dresden were rushing,
Ardag(h), he came back the new route viâ Flushing
From the Conference of Berlin.

XIX

The Sultan experienced no little emotion
When th' identical note was presented by Goschen,
Who told the Sick Man, he must swallow the potion
From the Conference of Berlin.

XX

'Tis the very last vol. of the Sybilline book,
And if you don't take it, by Jove, you must hook—
That was the view that they all of them took
At the Conference of Berlin.

XXI

The Sultan got into a terrible fright,
He said he was dashed if he thought it was right,
And he wouldn't give in without having a fight
With the Conference of Berlin.

XXII

So he sent for Osman and Abeddin,
And the Sheikh-ul-Islam with the banner of green,
None of whom were the least contented, I ween,
With the Conference of Berlin.

APPENDIX C

BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT¹

THE well-known prediction made by Eöthen more than threescore years ago has been in course of gradual fulfilment during the last quarter of a century—not, as many able and intelligent persons on the Continent have persuaded themselves to believe, through the deep-laid schemes of perfidious Albion, but in spite of the efforts of many successive party administrations in this country to discharge the engagements, made in good faith and sincerity, to withdraw the British army of occupation as soon as possible after the suppression of the rebellion of Arábi. The stars in their courses appear to have fought stubbornly against evacuation; while the efforts which we have made to disembarrass ourselves of what the majority of the nation regarded as a dangerous incubus, to accelerate the moment of departure and still more, the petulant and harassing agitation fostered by all who were disaffected to a continuance of our rule, have resulted in strengthening and consolidating it. Our occupation of Egypt has thus eventually become a notable example of the truth of the proverb, *Il n'y a que le provisoire qui dure*.

¹ From an article in *The Quarterly Review* by Sir John Ardagh in October 1904.

British interest in Egypt has an intimate connection with the growth of our Indian Empire. It began, curiously enough, on the farther side with the development of the maritime commerce of India with the Red Sea ports ; and the rivalry with France was antecedent to the Napoleonic invasion. That operation, however, may be taken as the substantial commencement of serious competition between England and France for influence in Egypt—a competition which endured actively for more than a century, but has now happily been laid to rest by the agreement of April 8, 1904, with France. It is singular to observe what a powerful factor maritime predominance has been in the contest.

Napoleon landed in Egypt on July 1, 1798. On August 1 Nelson defeated the French fleet at the battle of the Nile. From that day the eventual fate of the French army in Egypt was inevitable, although the defeat of the French on land by Sir Ralph Abercromby did not take place until March 8, 1801. In the war of Greek independence Mehemet Ali's fleet shared the fate of the Turkish navy at Navarino. From 1832 to 1841 the Pasha of Egypt was in rebellion against the Sultan ; and the decisive actions of that long campaign were the capture of Acre by the British and the blockade of the Egyptian fleet in Alexandria by Sir Charles Napier, which compelled the evacuation of Syria. Mehemet Ali was, however, established as hereditary ruler of Egypt, mainly by Lord Palmerston's influence ; and modern Egypt came into being as a separate state.

Mehemet Ali abdicated in 1848 and was followed by his son Ibrahim, who, however, died after a reign of two months, and then by his grandson Abbas, who came to a mysterious end in 1854 and was succeeded by his uncle Said, the youngest

son of Mehemet Ali. Said, on his death in 1863, was succeeded by Ismail the son of Ibrahim, the adopted son of the founder of the dynasty. These inheritances were according to the usual rule of Islam, viz. the senior male descendant. Ismail obtained from the Sultan the title of Khedive, the rule of succession by primogeniture and a further degree of independence, in consideration of an increase of the tribute from 80,000 to 150,000 purses. The subsequent firmans of investiture, granted to Tewfik and Abbas Hilmi, are similar in essentials. All contain reserves in favour of the Sultan. The Egyptian flag is that of the Ottoman Empire. Taxation is levied in the name of the Sultan; money is minted with his superscription; military and honorific titles are conferred in his name. Conventions made with foreign Powers must not infringe upon Turkish treaties and must be communicated to the Porte before promulgation. To contract fresh loans is forbidden. The number of the military forces is not to exceed 18,000. No territorial concessions are to be made.¹ The terms imposed by the paramount sovereign appear to leave extremely little independence to his vassal; but in reality Egypt passed in 1840-41 from the status of a dependent province of the Ottoman Empire into that of a state under tutelage more or less international.²

At first the Powers were concerned with the control and protection of a powerful and rebellious feudatory; but in 1854 a fresh interest was created by the concession for the construction of the Suez Canal; and in 1862 the first foreign loan was contracted—£3,292,000 at 7 per cent.—by Said. When Ismail succeeded in the following

¹ Paragraph iv., firman of 1879.

² Hatti Cherif, July 15, 1840; Memorandum, January 30, 1841.

year, he plunged at once into a career of reckless borrowing, which raised the external debt to a little short of £100,000,000 sterling. To these foreign loans may be attributed in the main the changes which have since come over Egypt. The last notable contribution to Ismail's funds was obtained by the sale of his shares in the Suez Canal. He had offered them to France ; and the Duc Decazes, who was then Foreign Minister, had declined them.¹ Lord Beaconsfield had no hesitation in acquiring them ; and the transaction was concluded without delay. Some months before the purchase of the canal shares, the Khedive expressed a wish to have an English official to advise the Egyptian Treasury. Mr. Cave was entrusted with a mission to inquire into the finances of Egypt ; and his report affords the first impartial review of the situation. It showed that the embarrassments of the Khedive, though not irretrievable, were susceptible of liquidation only by external assistance, which at that moment was not forthcoming.

In April 1876 Ismail committed his first overt act of bankruptcy by suspending the payment of interest upon Treasury Bonds. The creditors in Paris and London began to agitate for intervention ; and a fresh inquiry was instituted by the Goschen-Joubert mission. Ismail still clung to the retention of uncontrolled authority over the finances of Egypt and threw difficulties in the way of obtaining information and realising assets, but eventually agreed to govern by a responsible ministry, with English and French members. This lasted but a few months and was then summarily dismissed. At the instance of Germany, England and France, Ismail was deposed

¹ Cocheris, " Situation internationale de l'Égypte et du Soudan," p. 74.

by the Sultan ; and Tewfik was named as his successor on June 25, 1879.

A commission of liquidation, nominated by England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, was appointed by the new Khedive ; and the law of liquidation was evolved, in which the indebtedness of Egypt was settled at £98,685,930. The interest upon this sum absorbed about £4,500,000, or half the entire revenue of the country. In the course of the proceedings in bankruptcy, a body representing the interests of the international creditors was created which has, under the well-known name of the "Caisse de la Dette," since then exercised a predominant influence in Egyptian finance ; and France and England demanded and obtained the appointment of two supervising officials, with considerable powers over the Egyptian administration. This dual control subsisted until the Arábi rebellion was suppressed by the naval and military forces of Great Britain in 1882, when France declined to co-operate. Lord Dufferin was then sent on a special mission to Egypt to advise the Khedive in regard to arrangements for re-establishing his authority. Upon Lord Dufferin's recommendation the dual control was abolished, and a British financial adviser was substituted. France, which had borne no part of the burden of suppressing the rebellion, made a formal protest, but accepted the change. With the exception of entrusting the reorganisation of the Egyptian army to British officers, no other change was then made. The administration of the "Caisse de la Dette," the Domain, the Daira and the railways was continued unaltered ; and the Capitulations and the mixed tribunals remained unchanged. Nothing can be more absolutely certain than that the earnest desire and intention of Mr. Gladstone's Government and indeed of the vast majority of Englishmen at

that time, was to withdraw from Egypt as soon as possible ; and that the suspicions of France and Turkey—that our military operations for the suppression of anarchy in Egypt were the outcome of a long-cherished design for obtaining possession of that country—were entirely groundless. There were, however, some few persons who held that the British occupation could not be terminated within any limit of time which it was then possible to forecast, without a recurrence of the conditions which led to it ; and that party, though at first very small, has gradually gained general support. The nature of our responsibility as the occupying Power was clearly recognised in a despatch from Lord Granville to Sir Evelyn Baring, dated January 4, 1884, in which he wrote :

“ I hardly need point out that, in important questions, where the administration and safety of Egypt are at stake, it is indispensable that H.M. Government should, so long as the provisional occupation of the country by English troops continues, be assured that the advice which, after full consideration of the views of the Egyptian Government, they may feel it their duty to tender to the Khedive, should be followed. It should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests upon England obliges H.M. Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices.”

This, as Lord Milner observes, was plain speaking. It meant that the representative of H.M. Government must be consulted and obeyed ; and it was in fact a realisation of what Lord Dufferin had

aptly described as "the masterful hand of a Resident."

Happily for Egypt, for Great Britain and, indeed, for the whole world, the mantle fell upon the shoulders of Sir Evelyn Baring, whose intimate acquaintance with the country and with the difficulties which it presented, as well as his administrative and financial experience, rendered him eminently fitted for the rôle of a benevolent despot. He entered upon his duties at a troublous time. The finances were burdened by the expenditure occasioned by the rebellion, by the Alexandria indemnities and by the military operations in the Sudan ; and the deficits were entirely beyond the margin left to defray administrative charges by the law of liquidation. A fresh loan and a readjustment of the incidence of the debt were indispensable to solvency. A conference was held in London in 1884 at which we proposed a reduction of the rate of interest on the external debt and a suspension of the sinking fund coupled with an undertaking to fix a date for the withdrawal of our troops. No agreement was arrived at ; but in the following year the discussion was renewed. By the Convention of London of 1885 the Powers agreed to a modification of the law of liquidation, in the sense that a reduction of interest was accorded for two years, a scale of administrative expenditure was authorised, the surplus arising from the excess of the assigned revenues over the interest and other calls upon the Caisse de la Dette was divided in equal moieties between the Government and the Caisse, and a loan of £9,000,000 was guaranteed by the Powers. This settlement, although it alleviated the stringent terms of the law of liquidation, still contained many hampering restrictions which have impeded the progressive improvement of the financial position. It may, however, be

regarded as the turning-point from insolvency to prosperity, mainly because it enabled a commencement to be made in the development of the national resources of the country by reproductive expenditure upon irrigation, for which £1,000,000 sterling was provided.

The English had now been three years in Egypt. They were troublous years in many ways ; and the desire to be relieved of the many embarrassments occasioned by the occupation was very strong. The finances were burdened by the cost of the Arábi revolt, by the Alexandria indemnities, by the Mahdist movement, by the defeats of Hicks and Baker, by the two British Suakin expeditions, by the Nile expedition, and by the very measures which were taken to lessen responsibility by evacuating the Sudan. At home attention was diverted from Egypt by the apprehension of war with Russia ; and a sum of £11,000,000 was voted for military preparations. It was held by the highest military authorities that, in the event of European war, our small army could not carry on operations in the Sudan at the same time. Sir Henry Wolff was therefore sent to Constantinople to negotiate an arrangement with the Sultan ; and, after two years of discussion, a convention was signed on May 22, 1887, by which the British army of occupation was to be withdrawn in three years and the British control over the Egyptian army terminated after a further period of two years. The Powers were to be invited to guarantee the territorial security of Egypt. If further occasions arose for military intervention in Egypt, Turkish troops were to be sent, in concert with British, who were to have a power to reoccupy. This was a sincere attempt to fulfil our engagements. It was supported at Constantinople by Germany, Austria and Italy, but opposed by France and Russia.

The Sultan refused to ratify and the Convention became abortive.¹

To many in England the failure was a relief. Internationalism in Egypt had already revealed many weak and objectionable features ; and the formal recognition of Turkish intervention was a distinctly retrograde step. Looking back upon the conditions of the Wolff-Mukhtar Convention, we cannot but be astonished that the opposition to it was due to the very countries—France and Turkey—which would have profited most by it, from their points of view. For Egypt, it will now be recognised, the Convention would have been a grave misfortune, and for England a hampering embarrassment. We have among ourselves a considerable number of persons whose conception of political duties is always coloured by instinctive opposition to all measures emanating from the Government in power. In France a similar and, at times, a very strong and influential party cherished a traditional antagonism to the English and all their works in Egypt. For many years this party had a predominant influence over the policy of France. It opposed every reform in Egypt, not because the proposals were regarded as unreasonable, but because they had been made by the English. The abolition of the *corvée*, the taxation of foreigners, the improvement of the finances, besides a multitude of measures of minor importance, were systematically obstructed by France, notwithstanding the obvious fact that French interests would suffer, in common with all the rest, by the delay and opposition. It was a policy of pin-pricks, annoying but ineffective, and was disapproved by many French statesmen.

There was, however, one particular act which

¹ Blue-book, May 31 to August 1, 1887.

merits a passing mention, as its details appear to be imperfectly known in England. It is what we know as the Fashoda incident, which both countries are now content to bury in oblivion. M. Jules Cocheris, in his exhaustive volume on the "International Situation of Egypt and the Sudan," devotes a whole chapter to the subject. He attributes the conception of forming a belt of French territory across northern Africa from Senegal to Jibuti to President Carnot in the spring of 1893. It will be recollected that the fall of Khartum, the surrender of Kassala to the dervishes and the withdrawal from Dongola to Wady Halfa had occurred in 1885. The evacuation of the Sudan was complete. Some held that it remained under the paramount sovereignty of the Sultan ;¹ others, that it was a *res nullius*. The President, however, wished to reopen the Egyptian question ; and he thought that the future of France and her position in the world were at stake. The project of an all-British railway from Cairo to the Cape of Good Hope, initiated by Cecil Rhodes, and the acquisition of Uganda and the equatorial sources of the Nile by Great Britain were regarded with much suspicion in France ; and the French Colonial party regarded the interruption of continuity of control over the basin of the Nile as the only way in which the Egyptian question could be satisfactorily settled and England compelled to evacuate Egypt.

Preparations for the immediate execution of this bold and ingenious project were made, but they were not, for various reasons, put into effect. Two years elapsed before Her Majesty's Government made a pronouncement upon the matter, when, in the clearest and most definite manner,

¹ The Sultan is Sovereign of Egypt ; the Khedive Hereditary Governor.

Sir Edward Grey declared that the despatch of such expeditions would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Nevertheless the fascinations of the combination proved to be too attractive and the two expeditions were shortly afterwards despatched.

In the following year, 1896, the campaign against the dervishes for the reconquest of the Sudan was renewed; and on September 23 Sir Herbert Kitchener entered Dongola. The year 1897 witnessed the inception of the desert railway and the recapture of Abu Hamed and Berber; and on September 2, 1898, the Sirdar totally defeated the combined forces of the Khalifa at Omdurman. Meanwhile the Franco-Abyssinian expedition had reached the junction of the Nile and Sobat on June 22, but, owing to sickness and want of provisions, had to withdraw without effecting the contemplated junction with Marchand, who arrived, by the Bahr-el-Ghazal, at Fashoda on July 10, with a very small force. Two months later Kitchener explained to him the situation in the Sudan and, after leaving a small garrison at the mouth of the Sobat and hoisting the Egyptian flag, returned to Khartum, the intrepid explorer remaining to await the commands of his Government. The Marchand expedition aroused much admiration and patriotic feeling in France; while in England it was universally resented and elicited strong expressions of disapproval. Happily the adjustment lay in the hands of statesmen of calm temperament and conciliatory intention, whose experienced sense of proportion reduced the incident to the insignificant position which it really merited in the relations between the two great countries they represented. Not long after the reconquest of the Sudan, under these wise and sensible influences, a further step was taken to reconcile the rivalries of the two Powers. On

March 21, 1899, Lord Salisbury and M. Cambon signed a declaration by which France engaged herself not to acquire either territory or political influence to the east of a line drawn from the southern confines of Tripoli, between Darfur and Wadai, to the water-parting between the Nile and the Congo.

This settlement was adversely criticised, but it was the commencement of friendly relations which have since then received considerable development, culminating in the agreements entered into on April 8, 1904, by the Marquis of Lansdowne and M. Cambon, on behalf of their respective Governments—agreements inspired largely by the interchange of friendly visits between His Majesty the King and the President of the Republic and manifesting on both sides an admirable spirit of conciliation on the part of the negotiators.

It is only with those sections which relate to Egypt that we are here concerned; and it is impossible to describe them more clearly than in the words of Lord Lansdowne's despatch forwarding them to Sir Edward Monson, from which the following quotations are extracted:

“From a British point of view there is no more remarkable episode in recent history than that which concerns the establishment and the gradual development of British influence in Egypt. Our occupation of that country, at first regarded as temporary, has, by the force of circumstances, become firmly established. Under the guidance of the eminent public servant who has, for the last twenty years, represented His Majesty's Government in that country, Egypt has advanced by rapid strides along the path of financial and material prosperity. The destruction of the power of the Mahdi and the annexation of the

Sudan have increased that influence and added to the stability of our occupation.

“ But while these developments have, in fact, rapidly modified the international situation in Egypt, the financial and administrative system which prevails is a survival of an order of things which no longer exists, and is not only out of date, but full of inconvenience to all concerned. It is based upon the very elaborate and intricate provisions of the Law of Liquidation of 1880, and the London Convention of 1885. With the financial and material improvement of Egypt these provisions have become a hindrance instead of an aid to the development of the resources of the country. The friction, inconvenience, and actual loss to the Egyptian Treasury which it has occasioned have been pointed out by Lord Cromer on many occasions in his annual Reports. It is well described in the following passage which occurs in Lord Milner’s standard work on Egypt :

“ ‘ The spectacle of Egypt, with her Treasury full of money, yet not allowed to use that money for an object which, on a moderate calculation, should add 20 per cent. to the wealth of the country, is as distressing as it is ludicrous. Every year that passes illustrates more forcibly the injustice of maintaining, in these days of insolvency, the restrictions imposed upon the financial freedom of the Egyptian Government at a time of bankruptcy—restrictions justifiable then, but wholly unjustifiable now. No one would object to the continuance of the arrangement by which certain revenues are paid in the first instance to the Caisse de la Dette. But as long as these revenues suffice to cover the interest on the Debt and to provide any sinking fund which the Powers may deem adequate, the balance ought simply to be handed over to the Egyptian Government to deal with as it pleases, and the

antiquated distinction of "authorised" and "unauthorised" expenditure should be swept away. No reform is more necessary than this, if the country is to derive the greatest possible benefit from the improved condition of its finances, which has been attained by such severe privations.' "

Lord Lansdowne proceeds to explain the anomalies and inconveniences which are connected with the Caisse de la Dette and other international administrations in Egypt and the manner in which it was proposed to remedy them, so as to give the Egyptian Government a free hand in the disposal of its own resources, while safeguarding the interests of the bondholders. He specially calls attention to the recognition by the French Government of the predominant position of Great Britain in Egypt and their acknowledgment that it is not of a temporary character.

It is not necessary here to discuss the other subjects dealt with in the agreements between Great Britain and France. At the time of the Arábi rebellion and for many years afterwards public opinion in England was unmistakably opposed to prolonging the occupation of Egypt; and public opinion in France was as unmistakably anxious to procure our withdrawal. Happily for Egypt, the eminent statesmen who negotiated the recent agreements have recognised the force of circumstances and have merited the approbation of both countries by evolving a practical solution advantageous to all. The other Powers whose consent was requisite have raised no difficulties; and the incubus which has long weighed upon Egypt has been removed. No further questions are to be raised as to the date of evacuation. Cavillers may still harp upon the inconsistencies of the juridical position and inquire

whether we mean tutelage or protection. The answer is that His Majesty's Government have declared that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt. Externally the Great Powers are content. Internally those concerned may refer to Lord Granville's despatch, of which a quotation has already been given.

APPENDIX D

SOUTH AFRICAN COLONISATION SOCIETY

IN a memorandum on the subject of the Colonisation of South Africa by Women, Sir John Ardagh writes :

Although the English flag had been hoisted over what is now called Capetown in 1620, and English sovereignty proclaimed, no effective act of occupation took place until the Dutch East India Company despatched a small expedition under Jan van Riebeeck to build a fort and form a victualling station in Table Bay for the provisioning of their ships engaged in the Batavian trade. Van Riebeeck, in whose memory a statue has been erected by the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes on the spot at which he landed on April 8, 1652, had but 180 men at his disposal ; and, during the early days of their sojourn, many privations were undergone for want of fresh meat and vegetables. The former was soon procured by barter with the pastoral tribes, and the latter from gardens which the garrison planted with seeds brought for that purpose.

The commercial policy of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape was exclusive—not even its own employees being permitted to trade freely with either natives or calling ships. Its instructions, however, enjoined kindness to the tribes and hostilities were strictly forbidden, notwithstanding frequent suggestions on the part of Van

Riebeek to make reprisals for frequent acts of provocation, by capturing cattle and enslaving hostile natives. There were but few women brought out with the expedition, and it was not until three years had elapsed that the directors sanctioned the establishment of free settlements as a means of inducing their time-expired servants to remain in the country and become cultivators of the land free of rent or tax for three years, a term afterwards increased to twelve. None but married men of good character and of Dutch or German origin were to have land allotted to them, and so many restrictions were imposed on the new burghers that but few sought to avail themselves of the regulations. In 1658 there were but ninety-seven European men, all told, resident at the Cape.

In the following year Van Riebeek appeals for at least twenty farmers' or other ordinary peoples' marriageable daughters, who, he goes on to say, would immediately find husbands, and the Colony at the Cape be thus permanently established, while those who might be inclined to desert would completely abandon the idea. He found that when the freemen were married they established themselves permanently. "On the other hand, working with unmarried men is very unstable, and rests on but loose screws."

The South African Colonisation Society was founded by Sir John Ardagh in the winter of 1900-1901, when he drafted a scheme for the protection of women emigrating to South Africa. He laid it before the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, who heartily approved the idea, and recommended Sir John not to start a fresh Society, but to join the British Women's Emigration Association, which for many years had been

working on lines identical with those which Sir John had independently suggested in his memorandum, viz., the protected emigration of genuine working women only, for the purpose of taking up employment awaiting them in South Africa, and guaranteed by committees of ladies of high standing in that country.

The Association pledged itself :

1. To emigrate only such girls and women as are of good character and capacity.
2. To secure for them proper protection on the way and adequate reception on arrival.
3. If possible, not to lose sight of them for a year or two after their arrival.
4. To raise a loan fund for necessitous cases, repayment being secured on detained wages.

The South African Committee of the British Women's Emigration Association being at that time in abeyance, a nucleus committee was formed, consisting of Mrs. Joyce, President of the B.W.E.A., Mrs. Gell and myself; and in March 1901, in consequence of a speech made by Mr. Chamberlain at the annual meeting of the above-mentioned Association, and founded a memorandum by Sir John Ardagh, we added about twenty ladies to our number. This enlarged committee enlisted the interest and patronage of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and subsequently of Queen Alexandra, as also of a number of influential patrons and Vice-Presidents. To this body is due the organisation of the South African Colonisation Society, as it at present exists.

At this time an independent Committee, the

South African Immigration Association, having its head-quarters near Capetown, was formed, and a Hostel was given by Mr. Rhodes for the purposes of the women's emigration movement. We worked with this society for several years.

Two thousand pounds was subscribed at the meeting of the B.W.E.A., and subsequently indulgence passages were granted by the Government for our protected parties on board the transports which were at that time going out empty to bring back troops returning at the close of the war.

The new committee soon outgrew the kindly shelter and guidance afforded it by the parent society, and established itself in offices in Victoria Street, with a secretary and a staff of clerks.

Thus, in a short space, starting actually from a sheet of paper on which a busy man had spent what hours he could snatch from his arduous work, the South African Colonisation Society grew, until at the present time it has corresponding committees consisting of influential local ladies in all the most important centres in South Africa. In Johannesburg it has a Hostel and an important committee ; at Bloemfontein, Sir Hamilton Gould Adams, Lieutenant-Governor of the Orange River Colony, has handed over to us the Government Hostel there ; at Capetown the Rhodes Trustees have allotted to us the beautiful Mowbray Hostel, recently vacated by the South African Immigration Association ; in Salisbury we have a Hostel and Maternity Home ; and we are also adequately represented in Pretoria, Durban, Maritzburg, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London.

Both at home and in South Africa we work with the various Governments on lines approved by them.

Lord Milner, to whom Sir John had submitted his scheme while at Johannesburg on the South African Claims Commission, took great interest in the movement and allocated a large sum to be expended in assisted passages when, in the natural course of events, the indulgence passages ceased.

Since its formation the Society has emigrated between three and four thousand carefully selected women, who, with very few exceptions, have found fresh life and new ties outside this crowded little island.

In 1906 H.R.H. Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein graciously consented to become our President, and has given much time and personal attention to the work. Great support, financial and otherwise, has been afforded us by the Rhodes Trustees, and it may well be hoped that the Society is now established on a firm and lasting basis, although its progress is necessarily slow in consequence of the length of time which the new colonies, together with the Cape and Natal, have taken to recover from the effects of the war.

APPENDIX E

SHORT HISTORY OF THE RED CROSS MOVEMENT

FROM memoranda by Sir John Ardagh.

The amelioration of the condition of sick and wounded soldiers in war began to attract attention many centuries ago, and became the subject of treaties and conventions made between nations and between military commanders in the past. These agreements concerning the treatment to be accorded to the sick and wounded were ordinarily special and temporary, and although they afforded indications of a recognition of humanitarian principles by belligerents and examples from which a certain degree of uniformity in practice might be deduced, they were inadequate to constitute a definite system, and were entirely devoid of international recognition or acceptance.

After the capture of Jerusalem in 1187, Saladin gave permission to the Knights Hospitallers to enter and attend to the wounded Christians.

In 1743, before the battle of Dettingen, a treaty for the protection of the wounded and the hospitals was made between the Austro-Hanoverian army under George II. and the French army under Marshal de Noailles.

When the French retreated from Oporto in 1809, the Duke of Wellington gave safe-conducts to the French medical officers, whom he requested to be sent to treat the wounded they had left on his hands.

There were other examples during the Napoleonic wars, but on their close interest in the wounded died away.

The exertions of Miss Nightingale during the Crimean War and of other philanthropic persons on similar occasions drew public attention to the matter ; but the chief credit of having aroused an active interest in alleviating suffering on the battle-field is due to M. Dunant, whose book, entitled *Un Souvenir de Solferino*, gave a vivid description of the painful spectacles he beheld after that battle, and the misery and distress which were entailed upon wounded soldiers by the insufficient arrangements for their succour.

Dunant was the first to propound the proposal for the creation of voluntary societies for the aid of the sick and wounded. His volume produced a profound impression in Europe and led to the formation in Geneva, his native town, of a committee for the aid of wounded soldiers. This committee issued, on September 1, 1863, invitations to an International Conference at Geneva, for the purpose of considering the question. It was attended by thirty-six representatives from European States, the large majority belonging to the medical profession and many to the military branch of it.

A circular set forth the objects in view, viz.: The formation in each State of National Societies for the purpose of supplementing the inadequacy of the military sanitary services ; the formation and organisation in time of war by the committees of the belligerent nations of voluntary corps of hospital attendants ; and the provision of the requisite transport, supplies and medicines ; the whole to be placed at the disposition and under the orders and discipline of the army chiefs.

The Conference met at Geneva on October 26,

1863, and adopted resolutions to the above effect, as well as the specification of a white armlet with a red cross as a distinctive mark.

They also added recommendations to the effect that (a) Governments should protect and facilitate the operations of Aid Committees; (b) neutrality should be accorded by belligerents to ambulances and hospitals, to the official sanitary personnel, to the voluntary attendants, to the inhabitants who helped the wounded and to the wounded themselves; (c) uniform distinctive marks and flags should be adopted in all armies.

It was fully understood that the recommendations were merely expressive of personal opinion, without legal value and of no binding effect on the States to which the representatives belonged; and it became clear that, in order to advance beyond this academic stage, the subject must be discussed by responsible representatives duly accredited by the respective States.

At the instigation of the Geneva International Committee, the Swiss Federal Council issued invitations for an International Congress to assemble at Geneva on August 8, 1864.

Twenty-five States were invited and sixteen sent representatives. (It may be observed that the war between the Germanic Confederation and Denmark was going on.) The principal abstentions were Austria, Bavaria, the Papal States, Russia, Turkey and Greece. Great Britain was represented by Dr. Longmore and Dr. Rutherford.

During and subsequent to the Conference of 1863 it had become evident that the proposal to neutralise, or indeed to give State recognition to, Voluntary Aid Societies would meet with considerable opposition. The Geneva International Committee, therefore, in drafting a project of Convention to form the basis for discussion at the Congress, were apparently apprehensive that

the introduction of contentious matter might render the meeting abortive, and, although it was patent to all that they took the deepest interest in the question of Aid Societies, these are not mentioned or alluded to in any way in the draft.

General Dufour, the Swiss Commander-in-Chief, was elected President of the Congress, and in his opening address he declared that the question before them was only that of neutralising the ambulances and their personnel and in no way the extension or the foundation of Aid Societies.

The draft and the introductory address are important evidences of intention.

In the discussions which ensued the German and Belgian delegates advocated the neutralisation of volunteer hospital attendants and the French delegates stated that they were expressly forbidden by their Government to accept this proposal. The Swiss and Dutch delegates supported the French opposition. As it had been agreed that the majority could not bind the minority, only those articles upon which the opinions of the delegates were unanimous could be accepted and those upon which there was a diversity of views were dropped.

The draft as amended by the Congress became the final form in which the Geneva Convention was signed on August 22, 1864, by the twelve Plenipotentiaries representing Baden, Belgium, Denmark, France, Hesse-Darmstadt, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Spain, Switzerland and Würtemberg.

Most of the Powers, including Austria, Great Britain, Russia, Turkey and the United States, subsequently acceded at various dates up to 1882.

After stating that the Geneva Convention of 1864 was still in force in 1900 and that an adapta-

tion of its principles to maritime warfare had formed the subject of a separate Convention signed at the Hague in July 1899, Sir John Ardagh continues :

Proposals have frequently been made for the revision of the Convention of 1864. In 1868, for this purpose, the Swiss Federal Council issued invitations for a Congress which met at Geneva on October 5 of the same year, and, as in 1864, the Swiss International Committee charged itself with the preparation of draft proposals for consideration.

It is only necessary to state that fifteen additional articles were agreed to, and that delegates of fourteen States signed them on October 20, 1868, under reserve of the approval of their Governments.

Great Britain, France and Russia disapproved of certain articles. The Franco-German War supervened and the additional articles were not ratified.

At the Conference of Brussels in 1874 the delegates could not agree as to the nature of the modifications required, and contented themselves with laying the various amendments proposed before their Governments.

At the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899 the wish was unanimously expressed that steps should shortly be taken for the assembly of a Special Conference having for its object the Revision of the Geneva Convention.

This completes the official history of the Geneva Convention up to 1900.

The subject of aid to the sick and wounded in war has, however, been constantly kept before the world by the Red Cross Societies which were formed in all civilised States as a sequel to the

initiative given by the parent Society at Geneva in 1863. International Conferences of these Societies were held at Paris in 1867; Berlin, 1869; Geneva, 1884; Karlsruhe, 1887; Rome, 1892; and Vienna, 1897. These meetings now take place quinquennially, the place and the programme being arranged by the International Committee at Geneva.

Meetings have also been convened by other Aid Societies from time to time, the most recent having been an International Congress held in Paris in August 1900.

APPENDIX F

SHORT HISTORY OF THE SUEZ CANAL

WRITING in 1882, Colonel Ardagh defines the status of the Suez Canal Company as an ambiguous one in international law. He says :

Its official domicile is at Paris, its centre of enterprise—*locus rei sitæ*—is Egypt and its status in Egypt is of a three-fold nature :

1. Neutral, with foreign domicile.
2. Neutral, with local domicile.
3. Privileged *concessionnaire* of the Egyptian Government.

We can only briefly indicate here the extraordinary and romantic history of a gigantic engineering work, requiring an enormous capital, but which was carried out by the indomitable will of a man who was neither an engineer nor a financier, and whose genius has left an indelible mark on the history of the world.

It has been recognised for many centuries [Colonel Ardagh continues] that the high road from East to West must of a necessity pass through Egypt ; and the water-power of that country has given rise to many projects for a water-thoroughfare. The first project is attributed to Rameses II.,

some 1,300 years B.C., but better authenticated than this is the attempt of Pharaoh Necho II. (610 B.C.), who, according to Herodotus, constructed a canal from the Nile, near Bubastis (now Zagâzîg), to the head of the Great Bitter Lake. To this latter point the Red Sea probably extended at the time, but was being rapidly silted up. The passage through this arm of the Red Sea becoming thus impracticable, it appears that Darius (520 B.C.) completed the canal to Suez. Thus water communication was established from the Red Sea, viâ Cairo, to Alexandria on the Mediterranean. The canal appears to have been abandoned and restored at several periods in history, till finally it was closed about A.D. 1000.

Buonaparte was the next to take up this idea, suggested probably by traces of the old work and by his desire for a straight road to prosecute his designs against India. By his orders M. Lepère surveyed the isthmus in 1800 and reported a difference of level of 30 feet between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Various projects were suggested for overcoming this difficulty, but the evacuation of Egypt by the French prevented their execution. The subject was next brought forward in 1846, when a Commission of Engineers, of whom Stephenson was one, met to consider it. One or two propositions were made for indirect lines for the canal, though at the same time Lepère's statement about the difference of level between the two seas was proved to be fallacious.

Nothing, however, was done, and the matter dropped till 1854, when a project was originated by M. de Lesseps for a direct canal from Suez to Pelusium. An international commission suggested that the northern entrance should be made some seventeen miles to the westward of the latter point, in order to obtain deeper water, and in carrying out the work this was done.

Before operations were commenced much opposition was met with, chiefly that of the British Government under Lord Palmerston. It appears that the concession granted to M. de Lesseps by the Viceroy of Egypt gave him also power to make a fresh-water canal from the Nile to the Isthmus of Suez, accompanied by such vast acquisition of land that the Sublime Porte feared that the independence of Egypt would be affected prejudicially to the Sultan's interests. Lord Palmerston supported this view, and hence his opposition to the scheme. Finally the concession of lands was withdrawn and a heavy indemnity paid to the Canal Company by the Egyptian Government. With this the opposition of the English Government ceased, as the functions of the Canal Company were strictly limited to that work.

The argument of some opponents that the interests of British shipping would suffer by increased facilities for other European countries to join in the Eastern trade has hardly been borne out by later events, as will appear from the statistics of traffic on the canal.

By dint of perseverance and his final determination to ignore British opposition, M. de Lesseps was able to begin the work in 1859. The fresh-water canal was one of the chief features of the undertaking and, being commenced soon after, went on in unison with the main work. During the ten years occupied in the carrying out of M. de Lesseps' scheme, he met with numerous difficulties, chiefly those regarding labour, which he overcame by the use of machinery; and those of finance, which involved complicated transactions with the Egyptian Government.

In November 1869 the canal was opened, though not entirely completed.

The length of the Suez Canal is about 61 miles, including the embanked portion through Lakes

Menzale and Baleh, and 39 miles of cutting through land.

Without entering on Colonel Ardagh's detailed account of the financial history of the canal, I will pass to the purchase of the shares by England, already alluded to in "British Rule in Egypt."

In 1870 the Company was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the Khedive, with reference to this, broached the question of selling his shares to England, but without success. Some time later De Lesseps proposed that the Governments of Europe should buy the canal and make it international, but of this the Khedive did not approve. In 1875 the Khedive, being in great financial straits, opened negotiations with some French financiers for an advance on the security of the shares. The British Government interfered and, after a short negotiation, bought the shares, to the number of 176,602, for £4,000,000.

The Company were not to pay interest on the shares until 1894, twenty-five years' interest having been given up to them as part of the Convention of 1869. The Egyptian Government, however, agreed to pay 5 per cent. interest on the money up to 1895. This transaction was carried out by Lord Beaconsfield, and the shares, bought by him at a time when the prospects of the Company seemed dark indeed, stand at nearly eight times the value at the present date.



INDEX

- Abbasieh, races at, 161
 Abbeville, 19
 Abbeyleix, visit to, 265
 Abdul Aziz, Sultan of Turkey,
 his state of misrule, 32 ; de-
 posed, 32 ; death, 32 ; theory
 on his death, 126
 Abdul Hamid II., Sultan of
 Turkey, 33 ; his appearance,
 128
 Abdullah Khalifa, 203
 Abdur Rahman Khan, Amir of
 Afghanistan, his relations
 with England, 240 ; cruelties
 to his subjects, 257
 Abri, 208, 210
 Absarat, 210
 Abu Simbel, 212
 Abukir Bay, attack at, 145 *n.*,
 154
 Abukir, Lake, 154
 Adair House, Intelligence De-
 partment at, 47
 Adams, Sir Hamilton Gould,
 Lieut.-Governor of the Orange
 River Colony, 442
 Aden, 260 ; notes on, 242
 Admiralty, relations with the
 Military Intelligence Depart-
 ment, 280
 Adrianople, 104 ; occupation of,
 34 ; peace signed at, 60 *n.*
 Afghan War, 258
 Afghanistan, trouble in, 240 ;
 delimitation of the frontier,
 258, 259
 Africa, North, operations in,
 291
 Africa, North, East and West,
 colonial expansion, 285
 Africa, South, Colonisation Soci-
 ety, 387, 394, 440-3 ; founded,
 440 ; hostels, 442 ; number of
 emigrants, 443
 Africa, South, Deportation
 Claims, Commission on, 361,
 372-87 ; members, 372 ; num-
 ber of claims investigated,
 372-5, 384-9 ; amount of
 compensation, 375 ; inquiry
 into cases, 376-9 ; settlement
 of claims, 380-2 ; Central
 Claims Board, 384 ; District
 Boards, 384
 Africa, South, federation of, 289
 Africa, South, Immigration
 Association, 440
 Africa, South, problem, 291 ;
 voyage to, 382
 Africa, South, Military Notes on
 the Dutch Republics of, 337-9
 Africa, South, War, 289, 327 ;
 Royal Commission on, 271,
 330, 333 ; maps, 279, 343,
 346 ; estimated number of
 Boers, 336 ; topographical
 information, 342 ; difficulties
 of survey, 344 ; revision of
 martial law sentences, 361,
 389
Agincourt, at Limasol, 146
 Ahmed Kaiserli Pasha, 69
 Ahmed Vefyk, Vali of Broussa,
 125
 Aidos, 85
 Ak Palanka, 38

Akasheh, 204, 205
 Albani, Miss, 28
 Albania, 119
 Alcester, Lord, at the Jubilee
 Review of the Fleet, 231
 Aldershot, 48, 251
 Alderson, Sir R., 252
 Alexandra, Queen, her patron-
 age of the British Women's
 Emigration Society, 440
 Alexandria, 44, 46, 369; bom-
 bardment of, 146; con-
 struction of defences, 147;
 water-supply, 148
 Alexinax, 39, 416, 418
 Ali Pasha, character of his rule,
 133; his drowning the beau-
 ties of Janina, 134
 Alison, Sir Archibald, 31, 145,
 152; at Alexandria, 147
 Alma, 115; lecture on the, 261
 Almalû, 66
 Altham, Lieut.-Colonel E. A., 333
 Alverstone, Lord, member of
 the Martial Law Commission,
 391; death of his son, 391;
 at Capetown, 392
 Amara, 205, 208
 Ambukol, 204
 America, North, 293; South,
 293
 Ampthill, Lord, 53
 Andes, the, 396
 Anglo-Egyptian finances, ad-
 justment of, 226-7
 Anglo-French Agreement of
 1905, 289, 291; Boundary
 Commission in Burma, 259
Annie Childs, a Confederate
 steamer, 8
 Anstruther, H. T., on the char-
 acteristics of Sir J. Ardagh,
 412
Arabas, or country carts, 85
 Arabdjilar, 65
 Arâbi, leaves Alexandria, 146;
 entrenched at Kafr-ed-
 Dawar, 148; captured and
 sentenced, 159
 Arabia, 37
 Aracan, 259

Arbitration, Permanent Court
 of, established, 363
 Ardagh, Major-General Sir
 John Charles, his birth, 1;
 father, 1; at school, 2;
 characteristics, 2, 15, 164,
 237, 239, 283, 352, 354, 412;
 taste for drawing, 3; enters
 Trinity College, Dublin, 4;
 at Woolwich, 4, 5; religious
 views, 4; gazetted second
 lieutenant in the Royal En-
 gineers, 5; at Chatham, 5, 9;
 Pembroke dockyard, 5; at
 Milford, 6; ordered to em-
 bark for New Brunswick, 6;
 voyage in the *Victoria*, 7-9;
 at Newhaven, 9; designs the
 drawbridge, 9; at Ports-
 mouth, 9; Brighton, 9, 13,
 28; affection for his father,
 10; cruise to Iceland, 11-13;
 views on monuments, 11;
 adopted by Mrs. Woodforde
 and Miss Kinglake, 14; his
 appearance, 14; voice, 14;
 political views, 14; fits of
 depression, 15; appointed
 Secretary to the Committee
 on Fortifications, 16; attacks
 of fever, 17, 28, 43, 326; tour
 of inspection to Halifax and
 Bermuda, 17; Secretary to
 the Committee on Coast De-
 fences, 17; his Irish servant,
 17 *n.*; on the Franco-German
 War, 18-26; in Paris, 19-26;
 journey to Belfort, 26; at
 Strasburg, 27; at Malta, 28,
 368; granted leave, 28; ex-
 aminations at the Staff
 College, 29; receives his com-
 mission as Captain, 29; letter
 from General Sir W. Jervois,
 29-31; attached to the In-
 telligence Department, 31;
 lecture at the United Service
 Institution, 31; ordered to
 join the Turkish Army, 37;
 journey to Nisch. 37-9;
 recalled to Constantinople,

41; his sketch for the defence of the city, 42; ordered to Tirnova, 43; report on the condition of Bulgaria, 43; trip up the Nile, 44; impressions of Egypt, 45; sketches of Greece, 46; resumes his duties at Adair House, 47; his maps, 47; report on the sea-defences of the Lewis and Laughton levels, 47; sent on special service to Italy, 47, 49-52; at Hickleton, 48; interview with Pio Nono, 49 *n.*; at Rome, 50; at the Berlin Congress, 52-5, 120; receives the Civil C.B., 55; member of the Bulgarian Boundary Commission, 56, 73; at Constantinople, 56, 69, 74, 104, 122, 127, 226; Rodosto, 63; journey to Varna, 64; surveying operations, 66-9, 74-104, 104-8, 109; map of the new frontier, 69; finishing the plans, 70; gazetted Brevet-Major, 71; at the burning of Djuma, 94-8; at the Rilo Monastir, 99-102, 110; review of the military situation, 102-4, 415-18; at Buyuk-Dêré, 104; at Therapia, 110; Tiflis, 111; on the deterioration of the Turkish fleet, 115, 262; at Sebastopol, 115; Helsingfors, 116; his "Lay of the Wooden Spoon," 121, 419-23; on the Turco-Greek frontier delimitation, 122-5; travels in Greece, 125; appointed H.M. Commissioner, 128; at Arta, 129; power of work, 130; recreations, 130, 249; difficulties of the survey, 131-41; plan of operations, 134; offered the "Croix du Sauveur," 141; Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, 141, 164 *n.*; his article on "British Rule in Egypt," 142, 144, 424-38;

Instructor in Military Law and History at Chatham, 144; his secret destination, 145; at Port Said, 146; Alexandria, 147, 369; Commanding Royal Engineer, 147; his defence works at Alexandria, 147-55; employed on Special Service under Lord Wolseley, 156; appointed D.A.A.G. and Q.M.G. at Cairo, 156; sketch of the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, 157; Senior Officer for Railways, 159; Orders conferred, 162; interest in astronomy, 163; trip to Jerusalem, 165; return to England, 167, 190, 203, 225, 251, 265, 323, 389, 394; on the outbreak at Cairo, 167-70; return to Cairo, 169, 190, 226; Chief of the Intelligence Department and Commanding Royal Engineer of the expedition to the Sudan, 173-89; at the battle of El Teb, 174-6; the battle of Tamai, 176-8; on the policy of abandoning the Sudan, 182, 218; receives the military C.B., 189; Assistant Adjutant for the Nile expedition, 193; Commandant of the Base, 194; his duties, 195-9; postal arrangements, 197; system of parcels delivery, 198; official report, 198; Brevet-Colonelcy, 203; takes part in the second Nile expedition, 203; at Halfa, 204; Assistant Adjutant-General, 205, 228; at the battle of Ginnis, 205-9; narrow escape, 209; pursuit of the enemy, 213-15; his view of the military position in Egypt, 216-20; at Winchester, 225; Lieut.-Colonel, 225; settlement of Anglo-Egyptian finances, 226-7; entrusted with the organisation

of the new Mobilisation Scheme, 229-31; on the personal staff of the Duke of Cambridge, 231; his cruises in the *Mirror*, 231, 232; private secretary to Lord Lansdowne, 233; on the duties of the office, 234-7, 250; on the lighting of the Red Sea, 242; the territorial nobility, 243; reorganisation of the army, 244-6; establishment of a frontier province, 247; on the currency question, 248; his drawings, 249; failing health, 250, 405; Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, 251; at Carlsbad, 251; Canton, 253; Hong Kong, 255; on the acquisition of Penang, 256; return to Calcutta, 256; lecture at Dublin on the growth of our Indian frontiers, 258-61, 265; on half-pay, 261; cruise to the Crimea, 261; knighted, 261; lecture on the Alma, 261; interview with the Sultan, 262; at Glynllivon, 265, 365; Commandant of the School of Military Engineering at Chatham, 266; at the opening of the North Sea Canal, 266; engagement and marriage, 266; Director of Military Intelligence Department, 268; nature of his duties, 268-90; Major-General, 268 *n.*; relations with Lord Lansdowne, 275; Lord Wolseley, 276; colleagues, 276; his personality and intellectual gifts, 283; events during his term of office, 290-4; member of the Cable-landing Rights Committee, 295; member of a Committee dealing with cable questions, 296; at the Hague Conference of 1899, 306-22, 370; drafts in-

structions, 308; defence of the Dum-Dum bullet, 313-15; on the codification of the laws of war, 320-22; on the results of the Hague Conference, 323-5; enforced rest, 326; unselfishness towards his Staff during the South African War, 327; charges against the Intelligence Department, 329; loyalty to the Government, 330, 350; view of the situation, 331-3; memorandum "The Transvaal Boers from a Military Point of View," 334; completion of his term of office, 350; whole-hearted devotion to his duty, 352; notice on a card, 352 *n.*; personal example, 353; consideration for his staff, 353; on the policy of the Government, 357-9; extension of his service, 360; on the South African Deportation Commission, 361, 372-82, 384-9; revision of Martial Law sentences, 361, 390, 391-4; placed on the retired list, 362; member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, 363; Director of the Suez Canal Company, 364, 406, 409; trip to Norway, 364; ascends Snowdon, 365; receives the degree of LL.D., 365; elected member of Clubs, 365, 371, trip to the West Indies, 366; acts as umpire in the manoeuvres, 366; on the reform of Canada, 367; visit to Gibraltar, 368; at Crete, 368; pension awarded, 371; member of the Geodetic Arc Committee, 371; voyage to South Africa, 382-4, 391; his Afghan *poshteen*, 383; at Cape-town, 384, 392; Colonisation Society scheme, 387, 394, 440; life on board ship, 391; on the Chile-Argentine Boun-

- dary Commission, 395-7 ; his sympathy with the Red Cross movement, 398 ; at the Revision of the Geneva Convention, 402-4 ; at the Conference of the Red Cross Society, 405 ; the meetings of the Suez Canal Company, 405 ; his survey of it, 407 ; visits to Egypt, 409-12 ; his death, 414 ; history of the Red Cross movement, 444-9 ; of the Suez Canal Company, 450-3
- Ardagh, Lady, her marriage, 266 ; visit to South Africa, 394 ; illness, 411 ; on the British Women's Emigration Association Committee, 441
- Ardagh, Rev. W. J., 1 ; his characteristics, 1 ; methods of farming, 1 ; death of his wife, 2 ; affection for his son, 10
- Arenberg, Prince Auguste d', President of the Suez Canal Company, 407, 409
- Argentine-Chile Boundary Commission, 360, 361, 395-7 ; settlement, 397
- Argostoli harbour, phenomena of, 129
- Armaments, limitation of, 309
- Armenian frontier, 74
- Army Nursing Reserve, 399
- Arta, 129 ; river, 120
- Ashbourne, Lord, at Trinity College, Dublin, 4
- Ashburton, Colonel, 145
- Asia Minor, delimitation of the frontier, 70
- Assam, 258, 260
- Assiut, 193
- Assuan, 197, 204, 215, 411
- Atab, 205
- Atbara, 291
- Athenæum Club, 365
- Athens, 129, 261, 262
- Auchmuty, Sir Thomas, 256
- Australia, federation of, 289, 293
- Austria, attitude of, 36
- Azof* steamer, 111
- Azores, the, 8
- Bab-el-Gedid, 147
- Bab-el-Mandeb, Straits of, 260
- Bagrdan, Pass of, 106
- Bahr-el-Ghazal district, leases of, 360
- Bahrein, 261
- Baker Pasha, General, 42 ; in command of a corps at Makrikeui, 60 ; fortifications, 61 ; his map, 62 ; extract from "The War in Bulgaria," 91 *n.* ; disaster, 171 ; number of his force killed, 172 ; wounded at the battle of El Teb, 174
- Balaclava, 115
- Bâle, 26
- Baleh, Lake, 453
- Balfour, Lord, of Burleigh, chairman of the committee on cable questions, 296
- Balfour, Gerald, 409
- Balk, Captain, 115
- Balloons, prohibition of dropping explosives from, 317
- Baltimore, 6
- Baluchistan, delimitation of the frontier, 259
- Banja, 79, 102 ; hot spring at, 38
- Barakli, 99, 104
- Barbados, 366
- Baring, Sir Evelyn, at Cairo, 242 ; British Resident of Egypt, 430
- Bastra, 110
- Batoum, 111
- Battenberg, Prince Alexander of, his arrival at Rustchuk, 87 ; chosen first Prince of Bulgaria, 88 *n.*
- Bayard, Mr., his cruise to the Crimea, 261 ; in Norway, 365
- Beaconsfield, Lord, at the Berlin Congress, 53 ; on Captain Ardagh's services, 55 ; purchases the Suez Canal shares, 426, 453

- Beaufort, M. and Mme de, 371
 Beaumont, Admiral, 293
 Beernaert, M., at the Hague Conference, 320
 Beit, Alfred, 393
 Belfort, 26
 Belgrade, 37, 39
 Bellova, 102
 Belova Planina, 79
 Bencoolen, factory at, 256
 Benedetti, 18
 Berber, 187, 188 ; surrenders to the rebels, 190
 Berbera port, 260
 Beresford, Lord Charles, 3 ; on Sir J. Ardagh's knowledge of both services, 13 *n.* ; at Alexandria, 147 ; letter from, 201 ; his tour in Norway, 365
 Beresford, Lord William, 3 ; Military Secretary to Lord Dufferin, 238
 Bergen, 365
 Berlin, Congress of, 35, 36, 52-5, 118, 119 ; members of the, 53 ; agreement, 54 ; treaty signed, 36
 Bermuda fortifications, tour of inspection to, 16
 Berne, 405
 Bernese Oberland, 405
 Bertie, Rt. Hon. Sir Francis, at the Berlin Congress, 53
 Bertole-Viale, General, 51
 Bertrand, Señor Alejandro, on the settlement of the Chile-Argentine Boundary, 397
 Besançon, 26
 Bhootan war in 1864, 258
 Biddulph, General Sir Robert, 146
 Bigham, Mr. Justice, member of the Martial Law Commission, 361, 391 ; his account of it, 391-4
 Bingen, 29
 Binkos, gorge at, 104
 Bismarck, Prince, 25
 Bithynian Olympus, 126
Bittern, the, 105
 Bizerta, 368
 Bjelina, Svoznik, 416
 Black Sea, 61, 114
 Blackwood, Lady Helen, 164
 Bloemfontein, 393 ; Hostel of the Colonisation Society at, 442
 Bodfean, 265
 Bodley, Mr., at Hickleton, 49
 Boers, strength of the, 329, 334, 336
 Bogoliubow, Colonel, at the Berlin Congress, 54 ; member of the Bulgarian frontier Commission, 57 ; at Constantinople, 57 ; refuses to sign, 71 ; at Banja, 79
 Bosnia, insurrection in, 32 ; invasion of, 415
 Bosphorus, the, 61 ; defence of, 42
 Boulderson, Sam, 48
 Bourke, Mr. and Mrs. Terence, 368
 Brackenbury, Gen. Sir Henry, letter from, 200 ; head of the Intelligence Department, 228 ; Director-General of Ordnance, 277
 Bradley, Dean, 231
 Brassey, Mr. and Mrs., 71
 Brassey, Miss Mabelle, 71
 Bright, John, at Hickleton, 49 ; his views on India, 49
 Brighton, 9, 13, 28
 Brindisi, 47, 145
 British Guiana, 366 ; frontier question, 293
Briton, s.s., 391
 Brodrick, Hon. St. John, his approval of the Intelligence Department, 357
 Broomfield, churchyard, 414
 Broussa, 125
 Brownrigg, General, 29
 Brun, Dr., his experiments on Dum-Dum bullets, 313-15
 Brussels, Conference of, in 1874, 449 ; result, 318
 Bucharest, 122
 Bulair, 42
 Bulak, arsenal at, 196

- Bulgaria, disturbances in, 32 ; occupied by Russian forces, 34 ; Delimitation Frontier Commission, 56, 63 ; members, 57, 74 ; work, 64-9 ; maps, 69 ; documents and plans signed, 71 ; meetings, 74 ; at Banja, 79 ; divides into two parties, 86 ; result of the survey, 110
- Bulgarians, their oppressions, 93 ; women, 94 ; obstructive tactics, 107
- Bulhar port, 260
- Bull Run, battle of, 6
- Buller, Sir Redvers, in command of the infantry brigades in the Sudan expedition, 172 ; at the battle of Tamai, 177 ; approval of Colonel Ardagh's services, 198 ; at a Conference on the new Mobilisation scheme, 230 ; on the appointment of Commander-in-Chief in India, 252 ; Adjutant-General, 276
- Burgas, 103
- Burgoyne, Field-Marshal Sir John, Inspector-General of Fortifications, 6, 16, 28 ; his career, 6 *n.* ; Constable of the Tower, 6 *n.*
- Burma, Upper, annexation of, 240, 258 ; frontier settled, 259
- Butchinova, 98
- Butler, General, 204, 366 ; advance on Ginnis, 206 ; at Abri, 209
- Buyuk-Dêré, 104 ; valley, 61
- Buyuk-Kainardji, 65
- Buyuk - Tchekmedjé - Derkos position, 42
- Cairo, 44, 46, 156, 190 ; British army at, 161 ; incendiary fire, 161 ; fancy-dress ball, 164 ; outbreak of cholera, 167 ; number of deaths, 169 *n.* ; construction of stern-wheel steamers at, 195 ; completion, 196
- Calais, 19
- Calcutta, 239, 256 ; climate of, 250
- Cambridge, H.R.H. Duke of, 31, 230 ; Col. Ardagh's appointment to his personal staff, 231
- Cameron, Lieut., killed at Kosheh, 206
- Canada, question of defence, 293 ; result of reforms, 366
- Canea, 369 ; insurrection at, 369 *n.*
- Canton, 253 ; the Examination Hall at, 254
- Cape Colony, map of, 343
- Capetown, 392 ; Mowbray Hostel of the Colonisation Society at, 442
- Caracas, 366
- Cardwell, Lord and Lady, 48
- Carlsbad, 251
- Carnarvon, Vicar of, 5
- Carthage, site of, 368
- Cartwright, Mr., 153
- Caspian Sea, 114
- Caucasus Range, 114
- Cave, Mr., his mission of inquiry into the finances of Egypt, 427
- Cavendish, Victor, his marriage, 252. *See* Devonshire
- Cephalonia, phenomena of the harbour, 129
- Ceylon, 260
- Chadir Tèpé, 78
- Chaman, 240
- Chamberlain, J., 394 ; on the valuable reports of the Intelligence Department, 341 ; appoints a Commission on Martial Law Sentences, 391 ; at the annual meeting of the

- British Women's Emigration Society, 440
 Channel Tunnel, scheme for the construction and defence of, 144
 Chapman, Lieut.-Gen. E. H., 269
 Chard, Major, 146
 Charles-Roux, M., on the loss of Sir J. Ardagh to the Suez Canal Company, 413
 Chatham, 9, 29; School of Military Engineering at, 5, 266; Major Ardagh appointed Instructor in Military Law and History at, 144
 Chermside, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Herbert, 191; member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission at Constantinople, 57; journey to Varna, 64; his nonsense rhymes, 68; British Commissioner at Crete, 369
 Cheylesmore, Lord, 372. *See* Eaton
 Chile-Argentine Boundary Commission, 360, 361, 395-7; settlement, 397
 Chin Hills, 240
 China, treaty with, 258; war with Japan, 292
 Chitral, 258
 Chittagong, 259
 Cholera, outbreak of, in Egypt, 167
 Civil Engineers, Associate of the Institute of, 366
 Clarke, Col. Sir A., 191
 Clarke, Lieut.-Col. F. C. H., member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission, 57, 74; at Constantinople, 57; the delimitation of Asia Minor frontier, 70; Eastern Roumelia, 74
 Clarke, Mansfield, 252
 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 367
 Clery, Sir Francis, 328 *n.*
 Clery, Colonel, member of the Evacuation Commission of the Turco-Greek frontier, 128
 Clifford, Baron, 370
 Clifton Park, Kelso, 17
 Club, The, founded in 1764, 371; number of members, 372
 Coast Defences, 281; Committee on, 17
 Cobbold, Miss, 2
 Cocheris, Jules, "International Situation of Egypt and the Sudan," 427 *n.*, 433
 Codrington, Captain, 230
 Colenso, 393
 Collobiano, 125
 Cologne, 28
 Colonial Office, relations with the Military Intelligence Department, 282-5
 Colonisation Society in South Africa, 387. *See* Africa, South
 Colvin, Sir Auckland, 151
 Committees, special, value of, 300
 Comragh House, Co. Waterford, 1
 Congleton, Lord and Lady, 368
 Congo Free State, negotiations with, 360
 Consort, Prince, his funeral, 7
 Constantinople, 39, 41, 56, 104, 261; conferences at, 33, 119, 121; signed, 125; ratifications exchanged, 127; sketch for the defence of, 42; characteristics of the dogs, 58; the night watchman, 59; the "new bridge," 59; defences of, 61; reception at the Swedish Legation, 74
 Cook, Thomas, his personally conducted tours, 44
 Cooper, Francis, death from enteric, 328
Coquette, H.M.S., at Port Said, 146
 Corfu, 46, 129
 Corinth, 46; Gulf of, 262
 Cork Harbour, 8
 Cornish, J. F., Chief Engineer of the Alexandria water-works, 148, 149

- Corry, Montagu, at the Berlin Congress, 53
 Corti, Count, 74
 Cosmopolitan Club, 365
 Court, Lieut.-Col. à, at the Hague Conference, 306, 317
 Crete, 368
 Crimea, cruise to the, 261
 Cromer, Lord, "Modern Egypt," 210 *n.*, 216 *n.*, 224 *n.*
 Crozier, Captain, his support of the Dum-Dum bullet, 316
 Cullen, Mr., interpreter, 75
 Currie, Lord, at the Berlin Congress, 53
 Custance, Admiral, 293
- Daily News, The*, war correspondent of, 23
 Dakar, 383
 Dal Cataract, 205, 212
 Dalton, Colonel, 367
 Damietta, outbreak of cholera at, 167
 Danube, the, 37; scheme for closing the navigation of, 415
 Daoud Pasha, barracks of, 61
 Dardanelles, the, 35; defence of, 42
 Dariel Pass, 114
 Darur, 186
 Daveli, the brigand, 136; retirement, 136 *n.*; routs Roustan Bey, 137
 Davis, General, at the battle of Tamai, 177
 Defence, Committees on, 280; Home, scheme for, 230; Imperial, reconstituted Committee of, 350
 Deligrad, 416, 418
 Deliyusuf, 66
 Deliyusuf-kuyusu, or "Mad Joseph's Well," 68
 Demir-Kapu Pass, 84
 Deportation Commission, in South Africa. *See* Africa, South
 Depretis, Signor, Prime Minister, 50
- Derby, Lord, 36; at the Jubilee Review of the Fleet, 231
 Dêré-keui, 66
 Dervendista, murder of a Turkish officer at, 135
 Dévé Bagrdan-Karaula, 108
 Devon, Lord, at Hickleton, 49
 Devonshire, Duke and Duchess of, 252
 Dickson, Sir Collingwood, 71; on the Committee on Fortifications, 16 *n.*
 Djuma, 93, 104; occupied by Bulgarians, 94; the burning of, 95-8
 Dobrimir, 66
 Dobrol, 104
 Dobrudscha boundary, 64
 Dogs of Constantinople, their characteristics, 58
 Domus Dêré, 61
 Doncaster, 48
 Dondukoff-Korsakoff, Prince, 88
 Dongola, 203; cost of reconquest, 210 *n.*
 Dormer, Gen. the Hon. James C., 153; at Cairo, 163
 Dresden, 29
 Drina river, 416
 Dublin, Trinity College, 4
 Dufferin, Lady, 164
 Dufferin, Lord, Ambassador at Constantinople, 125; reception by the Sultan, 128; on Major Ardagh's services, 141; his advice to him, 235; his mission to Egypt, 428
 Dufour, General, elected President of the Geneva Convention of 1864, 447
 Dum-Dum bullets, 371; prejudices against, 311-13, 315-17; defence of, 313-16
 Dunant, M., *Un Souvenir de Solferino*, 445
 Dundas, John, 48
 Dunera, the, 394
 Durand, Col. Algernon, 233
 Durand, Sir Mortimer, his mission to Kabul, 258
 Durban, 394

- Dussi, M., 63
 Dutch East India Company, policy at the Cape, 440
 Dutch Red Cross Ambulance, incident of, at Elandsfontein, 400
- East, the Far, war in the, 289 ; policy towards, 292
 East, the Near, problems in, 293
 Eastern crisis of 1878, 32
 Eaton, Major-Gen. the Hon. Herbert, member of the South African Deportation Commission, 372
 Edfu, Lake, 148
 Edmonds, Lieut.-Colonel, member of the South African Deportation Commission, 372 ; Secretary of the Geneva Convention Revision, 403
 Edward VII., King, his coronation, 391
 Edwards, Capt. Sir Fleetwood, at the Berlin Conference of 1880, 120
 Egerton, Mrs. Charles, 71 *n.*
 Egri Palanka, 104
 Egypt, impressions of, 45 ; population, 45 ; first expedition of 1882, 142 ; military position in, 216-20 ; Reform of the Monetary System and the System of Weights and Measures, 225 ; military expenditure, adjustment of claims, 226 ; system of canalisation, 407 ; history of British rule in, 424-38 ; law of liquidation evolved, 428 ; "Caisse de la Dette," 428, 437 ; British financial adviser established, 428
 Egypt, Khedive of, re-enters Cairo, 161 ; presents the Order of the Mejidieh to Sir J. Ardagh, 226
 El Katr, 261
 El Magfar, 157
 El Teb, 172 ; battle of, 174 ; number killed, 175
 Elandsfontein, 400
Electra, the steam-yacht, 261
 Elephantine, island of, 411
 Eleusis, 46
 Elgin, Lord, report of his Commission, 333
 Elles, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Edmond Roche, member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission, 74
 Elliot, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry George, 42 ; on the death of Sultan Abdul Aziz, 33 *n.* ; at Vienna, 121
 Elliot, Mr. and Mrs., 16
 Elwyn, Colonel, on the Committee on Fortifications, 16 *n.*
 Emigration Association, British Women's, 441 ; committee formed, 441 ; hostels, 442
 Ems, 18
 Enos, 103
 Epirus, portion of, retained by Turkey, 119
 Erzerum, 105
 Escombe, Sir H., 346
 Esski Zara Pass, 104
Etna, s.s., 17
 European Congress, at Berlin, 35, 36
 Everett, Colonel Sir William, member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission, 74 ; at Banja, 79 ; Vice-Consul of Erzerum, 105 ; Assistant Adjutant-General of the Military Intelligence Department, 279
 Evzones, meaning of the term, 139
 Exham, Dr., member of the Bulgarian frontier commission, 74
 Fairholme, Colonel, Assistant British Commissioner at Kandah, 369 *n.*
 Faroe Islands, 12
 Fashoda incident, 290, 433

- Fayal Harbour, 8
 Fayrer, Sir Joseph, 251
 Fazil, Prince Mustapha, 191 *n.*
 Fazil, Princess Nazli, 191 *n.*
 Federigo Pasha, 153
 Ferditza, 104
 Ferkeh, 205 ; looted, 206
 Ferrier, Lieut., 204
 Fielding, General, 252
 Finland, 116
 Finns, the, language, 117 ; characteristics, 117
 Firearms, or explosives, restrictions in, 310
 Fisher, Adm. Sir John, at Alexandria, 147 ; at the Hague Conference, 306, 371
 Fitzmaurice, Lady Evelyn, her marriage, 252. *See* Devonshire
 Fleming, Captain, 230
 Forbach, 29
 Forbes, Archibald, war correspondent of *The Daily News* in Paris, 24
 Ford, Mr. Clare, Minister at Athens, 129
 Foreign Office, relations with the Military Intelligence Department, 282-5, 288 ; work of the, 287
 Fornaghi, Captain, member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission, 57 ; at Constantinople, 57
 Fort Belan, 265, 266
 Fort Hatteras, capture of, 6
 Fort San Nikola, 80
 Fortifications, Committee on, 16 ; members, 16 *n.*
 Foster, J. F., Secretary to the South African deportation Commission, 372
 France, war of 1870 with Germany, 18 ; policy in Egypt, 432 ; agreements, 435, 437
 Frankfort, 29
 Fraser, Major-Gen. Sir Thomas, 71
 Fremantle, Hon. Sir Charles, 412 *n.*
 Furley, Sir John, member of the Geneva Convention Revision, 402 ; Chief Commissioner of the British Red Cross Society in the South African War, 402 *n.*
 Gabbari bridge, coffer-dam at, completed, 150
 Ganges, the, 167
 Garroby, 48
 Gathorne-Hardy, Mr., 47
 Gazelle, the, 212 ; shooting the first cataract, 213-15
 Gell, Mrs., member of the British Women's Emigration Association Committee, 441
 Geneva Convention of 1863, 401 ; of 1864, 446-8 ; Revision of the, 402-4, 448 ; members, 402 ; Conferences, 449
 Genoa, 261, 262
 Geodetic Arc Committee, 371
 Gerard, Colonel, 145
 Geriche, Baron, on the incident of the Dutch Red Cross Ambulance of Elandsfontein, 400
 Germany, war of 1870 with France, 18 ; troops occupy Paris, 21 ; march into, 22 ; evacuation, 22-6
 Germany, Crown Prince of, 25
 Germany, Emperor William I. of, 25
 Geysers, the, visit to, 13
 Gibraltar, 368
 Giglioli, Lieutenant, 51
 Gilgit, post established at, 258
 Gill, Captain, 74
 Ginnis, battle of, 205-9 ; casualties, 208 ; result, 216
 Girlitza, 66
 Girouard, 368
 Gitka, Mount, 98
 Giup-su, 103
 Gladstone, W. E., 14
 Glasgow, cemetery at, 11
 Glynllivon, 365, 414 ; visit to, 265 ; sun-dial at, 265

- Godley, Sir Arthur, 250
 Godley, Sir John, 366
 Goldsmid, Major, 229
 Gordon, General, 45; Governor of the Sudan, 48; his character, 48; Commissioner for the Boundary of Eastern Roumelia, 74; return, 105; failure to relieve, 143; at Jerusalem, 166; unfulfilled prophecy, 166; return to Cairo, 167; death, 167; leaves for Khartum, 171
 Goree 383
 Goschen, Mr., at Constantinople, 125; return to London, 125
 Gourko, General, in command of the Russian troops, 34; captures Plevna, 34; his passage through the Hain-keui Pass, 82
 Gowan, Sir James, 233; letter from Sir J. Ardagh, 361-4; on the results of the Hague Conference, 323-5; on Canada, 367
 Graham, Major-Gen. Sir Gerald, in command of the expedition to the Sudan, 172
 Gramont, Duc de, 18
 Gran, 37
 Grant, Major, 333; his survey of Natal, 345
 Granville, Lord, 120; extract from his dispatch on the administration of Egypt, 429, 438
 "Granville, Life of the Second Earl," 143 *n.*, 145 *n.*
 Great Britain, on the European Congress at Berlin, 35; reserves called out, 36
 Greece, 36, 46; declares war against Turkey, 118; negotiations at Prevesa, 119; delimitation of the frontier with Turkey, 120, 122-25; characteristics of the Greeks, 122; members of the commission, 128; brigandage in, 132
 Green, Major, 173; wounded at the battle of El Teb, 175
 Greenock, 11, 12, 13
 Grenfell, Field-Marshal Lord, at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, 158; at the Dormitory, Cairo, 163; his approval of Col. Ardagh's services, 198; at Halfa, 204
 Grenfell, Sir Francis, member of the Cholera Committee at Cairo, 170; Governor of Malta, 368
 Grey, Admiral the Hon. Sir Frederic, President of the Committee on Fortifications, 16 *n.*, 30
 Grivitza Valley, 90
 Grove, Major-General Sir Coleridge, 161, 230; Military Secretary, 277
 Guzal, 79
 Gye, Madame Albani, 28 *n.*
 Hadji-Oglu-Bazardjik, 65, 67
 Hadji Reschid Pasha, 37
 Hadramaut, coast of, 261
 Haggard, Rider, "Alan Quatermain," 163 *n.*
 Hague Conference of 1899, 303-22, 370, 448; subjects to be discussed, 304; selection of British representatives, 305; draft of instructions, 307; opened, 308; limitation of armaments, 309; restrictions in firearms, 310; the Dum-Dum bullets, 311-17; prohibition of explosives from balloons, 317; codification of laws of war, 318-22; result, 323-5
 Hain-keui, 81, 104; the pass, 82
 Hain-keui Dêrê, 82
 Halfa, 204
 Halifax fortifications, tour of inspection, 16
 Halifax, Lord, 48
 Halswell, Keeley, 231

- Hamdalar, 86
 Hamley, Major-General, appointed commissioner of the Bulgarian delimitation frontier, 73; at Constantinople, 74; Buyuk-Dêrê, 104; Commissioner of the Evacuation Commission of the Turco-Greek frontier, 128
 Hanbury, Mr., member of the committee on cable questions, 296
 Handub, occupied, 183
 Hardwicke, Lord, member of the committee on cable questions, 297
 Hare, Captain, 29; member of the Bulgarian frontier commission, 74
 Harrison, Sir F., Quartermaster-General, 399
 Hartington Commission, report of the, 272
 Hatzfeldt, Count, 74
 Hawkshaw, Sir John, on the Committee on Fortifications, 16 *n.*
 Hay, Sir James, 366
 Haymerlé, Colonel von, 51
 Heath, Lieutenant, 150
 Heaton, Henniker, on reduction of the cable rates, 300
 Hecla, ascent of, 13
Helicon, the, 146, 151
 Helsingfors, 116; the capital of Finland, 116; population, 116
 Hely Hutchinson, Sir Walter, Governor of Cape Colony, 392, 395
 Henderson, Col. G. E. R., his map of South Africa, 346
 Herzegovina, insurrection in, 32; report on the operations in, 43
 Hewett, Admiral, 172
 Hewett, Sir John, 257
 Hickleton, 48
 Hicks Pasha, annihilation of his army, 171
 Hildyard, Lieut.-Col., 229
 Hills, Major, 333
 Hindu Kush, 240
 Hoffman, Colonel, 22
 Hohenzollern, Prince Antoine of, 18
 Hohenzollern, Prince Leopold of, 18
 Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas, on the Chile-Argentine Boundary Commission, 395
 Holland, Queen Wilhelmina of, 308; entertains the delegates of the Hague Conference, 370
 Holland, Professor, 390; member of the Revision Geneva Convention, 402
 Hollander, Dr., in charge of the Dutch Red Cross Ambulance at Elandsfontein, 400
 Holstein, Baron von, 23
 Home, Colonel, 42; appointed member of the Bulgarian Delimitation Frontier Commission, 56; attack of fever, 71, 73; death, 73
 Home Defence, scheme for, 230
 Hong Kong, 255
 Howard, Sir Henry, appointed delegate at the Hague Conference, 305, 317; Minister at the Hague, 371
 Hozier, Colonel, 242
 Hunjadi, John, 89
 Hunter, Sir Archibald, wounded, 206
 Hunza, 240, 258
 Hutton, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Edward, 145, 367; on the situation in Canada, 366
 Huyshe, Colonel, 204; at Abri, 209
 Hyslop, Captain, 147
 Hythe, School of Musketry at, 7
 Iber Valley, 416
 Ibrahim Pasha, Gen., 191 *n.*
 Iceland, 8; cruise to, 11-13
 Ichtiman, 102; survey of, 74
 Ida, Mount, 126
 Iddesleigh, Earl of, 53 *n.*

- Inconstant*, H.M.S., 155
- India, condition of, in 1888, 240; fall in the value of the rupee, 241, 247; question of the defence, 241; the territorial nobility, 243; reorganisation of the army, 244-6; establishment of a frontier province, 247; Weights and Measures Bill, 257; lecture on the growth of frontiers, 258-61
- Indian Ocean, 45
- Indjirkeui, 61
- Indus, the, 260
- Intelligence Department, Military, 31, 268; difficulties of the work, 269-75; Topographical branch started, 271, 342; changes from the reorganisation of the War Office, 272; functions, 273; division into sections, 277; duties of the colonial section, 277; four foreign sections, 278; maps, 279, 343, 346; books, 279; relations with the Admiralty, 280; the Foreign and Colonial Offices, 282-5; complicated questions referred to, 285-94; boundary disputes, 285-8; appointments to, 327; charges against, 329, 333, 337, 342; "Statement," 334-9, 348; estimate on the number of Boers, 336; memoranda for the information of authorities, 339-42; difficulties of survey, 344; treatment of the War Office, 349; reorganisation, 350, 357; creation of a General Staff, 351; charges disproved by the Royal Commission, 356
- Intelligence Department, Naval, 280
- Ireland, 29; condition of, in 1867, 10
- Iris*, s.s., 129; at Port Said, 146
- Isker, 109
- Isle of Wight, fortifications of, 9
- Ismailia, 144, 156, 410; in the hands of the English troops, 154
- Italy, special service to, 47, 49-52; ministerial crisis, 50; organisation of the army, 51; religion, 52
- Jaikenli, 81
- James, Captain, at Banja, 79
- Jameson, Dr., 393
- Janina, 120, 132; beauties of, drowned, 134
- Japan, war with China, 292
- Java, 256
- Jenner, Mr., murdered, 360
- Jeppe, Mr., his map of South Africa, 343, 347
- Jerusalem, visit to, 165
- Jervois, Col. Sir William, 16; his tour of inspection to Halifax and Bermuda, 16, 17; letter from, 29-31
- Johannesburg, 393; Hostel of the Colonisation Society at, 442
- John, St., Ambulance Association, 399
- Johnson, Dr., founds The Club, 372
- Johnston, Sir Harry, 368
- Jones, Capt. D., 105; member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission, 74
- Joyce, Mrs., President of the British Women's Emigration Association, 441
- Jubaland, expedition against, 360
- Jura, 26
- Kabul River, 260; mission to, 258
- Kadi-keui, 66
- Kafr-ed-Dawar, 148
- Kaibar, 211

- Kalini Karmen, 106
 Kallai, Baron, at Vienna, 121
 Kalofer, pass of, 104
 Kandahar Railway extension, 240
 Kandia, 369
 Kantara, in the hands of the English troops, 154
 Kapudjik, 102, 104
 Karapelit, 65
 Karasarli, 84
 Karatheodori, 74
 Karaulas, or small forts, 38
 Karlovo, 79, 80
 Karnabad, 84
 Karnebeck, M. de, 317, 370
 Karya, 138
 Kasan Pass, 86
 Kasanlyk, 81
 Kashgar, 255
 Kashmir, 240
 Kassassin, 157
 Kaz Dag, or Goose Mountain, 126
 Kehl, 266
 Kele Kalessi (The Tower of Sculls), 417
 Kelvin, Lord, his cruise to the Crimea, 261
 , Kemball, Major-General Sir Arnold, in camp at the Morava River, 39
 Kertch, 115
 Khadr Abdullah, 184
 Khairuddin, the Grand Vizier, 74
 Khalil Chérif, 191 n.
 Khartum, 171
 Khelat, Khan of, 258
 Khotour frontier, 74
 Kilios, 61
 Kimberley, diamond mines at, 393
Kinfauns Castle, 394
 Kinglake, Miss, 13
 Kiss-Derbend, 102
 Kitchen, Dr., Dean of Winchester, 225
 Kitchener, Lord, 194; his operations in North Africa, 291; Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, 384; on the Dutch Red Cross Ambulance incident, at Elandsfontein, 400
 Kojah range, 258
 Kom-ed-Dyk, fort of, 147
 Komorn, 37
 Korosko-Abu-Hamed route, 188
 Kortvélyes, 37
 Kosheh, 203, 205, 211
 Kotcharnovo, 98
 Koyeh, 209
 Kranova, 66
 Krudener, Baron, 77
 Krusevatz, 40
 Kur river, 111
 Kurram Valley, 240
 Kurvingrad, 417
 Kustendil, 104; survey of, 104
 Kutais, 115
 Kutchukkeui, 61

 Labanoff, Prince, 74
 Ladysmith, 393
 Lake, Colonel Percy, 288, 368
 Lane, Sir Ronald, in command of the troops at Alexandria, 369
 Lansdowne, Lord, Viceroy of India, 233; appoints Col. Ardagh his private secretary, 233; duties as Viceroy, 234; at Calcutta, 239; tribute to him, 249; Secretary of State for War, 275; relations with him, 275; extract from his dispatch on British influence in Egypt, 431, 433
 Lapland, 365
 Lashkareff, General, 75
 Lawless, Freddy, his tour in Norway, 365
 Lawley, Sir Arthur, Governor of the Transvaal, 393
 Lawton, Mr., his cruise to Ireland, 11-13
 "Lay of the Wooden Spoon," 121, 419-23
 Layard, Sir Henry, 63
 Leach, General, 367
 Leahy, Colonel, 29

- Lecky, Mr., at Trinity College, Dublin, 4
 Lee, Sir Henry Austin, Secretary at the British Embassy in Paris, 412 *n.*
 Leeward Islands, 366
 Leipzig, 29
 Lemoine, Colonel, member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission, 57; at Constantinople, 57; in charge of the Commission, 66; at Banja, 79
 Lennep, Van, his journey to Varna, 64
 Leslie, Colonel, in command of troops at Samakov, 76; at Plevna, 91
 Lesseps, M. de, on the Suez Canal dues, 408; his appeal to the Sultan, 408; his scheme for a direct canal from Suez to Pelusium, 451
 Leveson, Captain J. J., member of the Turco-Greek Frontier Commission, 128; on Major Ardagh's power of work, 130; his illness, 139; offered the order of the "Croix du Sauveur," 141
 Lewes and Laughton levels, report on the sea defence of, 47
 Libyan Desert, 45
 Limasol, 146
 Linz, 37
 Litros, 61
 Logothetti, 57
 London, defence of, 253
 Londonderry, Lord, member of the committee on cable questions, 297
 Longmore, Dr., at the Geneva Convention of 1864, 446
Lotus, the, 208, 210
 Lycoudis, Captain, 132; his illness, 139
 Lyttelton, Gen. Sir Neville, 230, 393
 Maartens, M. de, at the Hague Conference, 320; at the Conference of Red Cross Societies, 400
 Macao, 255
 MacCalmont, Major-Gen. Sir Hugh, 71
 MacDougall, Major-Gen. Sir P., head of the Intelligence Department, 31
 Macedonia, insurrection in, 93
 Macgregor, Colonel, 230
 Macnaghten, Lord, on the Chile-Argentine Boundary Commission, 395
 Macpherson, Lieut.-Col., 399 *n.*; member of the Geneva Commission Revision, 402
 Magellan, Straits of, 396 *n.*
 Mahmoud Ahmed, the prophet, 203
 Mahmoud Ali Bey, 183
 Mahmud Damat, 127
 Mahmudié Canal, 147
 Maisa, Signor, 125
 Maitland-Dougall, Capt., A.D.C. to Sir A. Kemball, 40
 Makrikeui, 60, 61
 Malacca, 256
 Malay Peninsula, 260
 Malet, Sir Edward, 74
 Mallaha junction, 150
 Malta, 28, 368
 Mangalia, 68
 Manipur, 258
 Mansura, outbreak of cholera at, 167
 Marathon, 46
 Mareotis, Lake, 148
 Maritza, 102
 Mark IV. bullet, manufacture of, 312
 Marling, Lieut., at the battle of Tamai, 176
 Marmara, Sea of, 35, 61
 Marmier, Captain, at Banja, 79; Djuma, 95
 Marsa, La, 368
 Marseilles, 169
 Martial Law Sentences, Commission on, in South Africa, 389

- Mason, Mr., arrested, 6; released, 9
 Mauritius, 260
 Mayence, 29
 Mecklenburg, Grand Duke of, 25
 Mediterranean fleet, in the Sea of Marmara, 35
 Mehemet Ali, 191 *n.*
 Mekong River, 259
 Menai Straits, 226
 Menelek, King, negotiations with, 360
 Menzale, Lake, 453
 Mesta Valley, 104
 Meteorology, lecture on, 6
 Metsovo, 135
 Metz, 29
 Midhat Pasha, his arrest, 126; character, 127
 Milford, Popton Point Battery at, 6
 Military Intelligence Department. *See* Intelligence
 Milner, Lord, High Commissioner of South Africa, 384; at Pretoria, 393; Johannesburg, 395; extract from his work on Egypt, 435; interest in the Colonisation Society, 443
 Milvain, Mr., President of the South African Deportation Commission, 372
 Minch, the, 12
 Minto, visit to, 265
 Mira, the, 364
 Mirror, the, 231, 266
 Mitrovitza, 104, 416
 Mobilisation Scheme, the new, 228
 Modder, battle of the, 328 *n.*
 Moffat, Sapper, killed in the battle of Tamai, 180
 Moharrem Bey station, 152
 Mokrakeh fort, 205; attack on, 206
 Mokreni, 84
 Moltke, Count, 25
 Molyneux, Captain, 151
 Mont Blanc, 405
 Montenegro, war with Turkey, 33; operations in, 43, 418
 Monthier, 26
 Morava Valley, 39
 Moscow, 115
 Mostyn, Lord, his tour in Norway, 365
 Moufettish, Finance Minister to Ismail Pasha, 220; account of his death, 221-5
 Mowbray, Sir John, his cruise to the Crimea, 261
 Moynier, M., nominated *Président d'honneur* of the Geneva Convention Revision, 403
 Mukhtar Pasha, 60
 Mulhouse, 26
 Munro Doctrine, 367
 Murad, Sultan, of Turkey, deposed, 33
 Murray, Col. Sir C. Wyndham, member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission, 57; at Constantinople, 57
 Mustapha Pasha Han, 417

 Nagar, 240, 258
 Namoa case, 255
 Naples, 47
 Natal, map of; 343, survey of, 345
 National Aid Society, 398, 399
 Naval Intelligence Department. *See* Intelligence
 Nefishé, 144
 Nepal, unrest in, 240
 Netherlands, South African Railway Company, claims for compensation, 379
 Neuchâtel, 26
 Neufeld, Charles, 150; his career, 150 *n.*
 Neutrality, Proclamation of, 18
 New Brunswick, 6
 New Orleans, 8
 Newborough, Baron, 265 *n.*
 Newhaven Fort, building of, 9
 Nicholson, Sir Lothian, at a Conference on the new Mobilisation scheme, 230

Nicholson, Lieut.-Gen. Sir W. G., 334

Nikopoli, 89

Nile, trip up the, 44 ; Expedition, delay in the advance, 143 ; adoption of route, 193 ; expedition starts, 193 ; duties of the Commandant of the Base, 195 ; construction of stern-wheel steamers, 196 ; postal arrangements, 197 ; parcels delivery, 198 ; at Korti, 199 ; Expedition the Second, 203 ; shooting the first cataract, 213-15 ; annual innundation, 407 ; survey of, 407 *n.*

Nineteenth Century, The, 33 *n.*

Nisava, 417 ; river, 38

Nisch, 37, 38, 41, 417

North Cape, 364

North Sea Canal, opening of the, 266

Northcote, Sir Stafford, 53

Northcott, Henry, killed at the battle of the Modder, 328

Northumberland, at Limasol, 146

Norway, 364

Novi Bazar, 104, 416

Noyes, Major, 151

Oban, 12

Obo, 116, 117

Octolophos (Eight Hills), 138

Odessa, 115, 261

Odier, M., elected President of the Geneva Convention Revision, 403

Ogilvy, Colonel, 145

Olympus, Mount, 138

Omdurman, 291

Onslow, Lord, member of the Committee on cable questions, 297

Orkhanié, 91

Ornstein, Mr., 153

Orontes, the, 173

Orrero, Colonel, member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commis-

sion, 57 ; at Constantinople, 57 ; at Banja, 79

Orsikovo, 91

Osman Digna Pasha, fortifies, Plevna, 34 ; his orders not to count the dead, 175 *n.* ; operations against, 176 ; his dress, 184 ; wounded, 185 ; reward offered for his capture, 185 ; result on his plans of the departure of the women, 220 *n.*

Ossa, Mount, 139 *n.*

Otao, 186

Oxus, the, 258

Paget, Sir Augustus, 50

Pallavicino, Captain, member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission at Banja, 79

Palliser, Sir William, 4

Pamirs, the, 240 ; delimitation of the frontier, 259

Panama, Isthmus, of, 396 *n.*

Paris, appearance of, at the end of the war of 1870, 19 ; occupied by the Germans, 21 ; evacuation, 22-6 ; revolution in, 27

Parliament of 1886, dissolved, 252 *n.* ; result of the General election, 252 *n.*

Parr, Colonel, 173

Patras, 46

Pauncefote, Sir Julian, at the Jubilee Review of the Fleet, 231 ; appointed delegate at the Hague Conference, 305, 317, 370

Peace, preliminaries of, signed, at Versailles, 22

Peace Conference, the first, 303. *See* Hague

Pembroke dockyard, defence works at, 5

Penang, acquisition of, 256

Pender, Mr. James, his cruise to the Crimea, 261

Pender, Sir John, 231, 261 ; his cruise to the Crimea, 261 ;

- at the opening of the North Sea Canal, 266
Penelope, H.M.S., at Port Said, 146
 Pentelicus, 46
 Pera, 69
 Perim, 260
 Persia, delimitation of the frontier, 260
 Pesth, 37, 122
 Petersburg, St., 115
 Petrichevo, 103
Pharaon, the, 212; shooting the first cataract, 213-15
 Philippopoli-Tirnova junction, 104
 Philippopolis, 43
 Pietermaritzburg, 394
 Piræus, 129
 Pius IX., Pope, interview with, 49 *n.*; appearance, 50 *n.*
 Platt, Mr., member of the South African Deportation Commission, 372
 Plevna, 90; capture of, 34; maps of, 47
 Plymouth, 9, 167
 Ponsonby, Major-Gen., Private Secretary to Queen Victoria, 47
 Pontarlier, 26
 Pontoise, 19
 Popoff, Admiral, 115
 Port Royal, capture of, 6
 Port Said, 146, 410; in the hands of the English troops, 154
 Portree, 12
 Portsmouth, 9
 Portsmouth, Lord, his cruise to the Crimea, 261
 Poti, 111, 114
 Prepolatch, 104
 Pressburg, 37
 Pretoria, 393
 Pretreven, 91
 Prevesa, 119
 Price, Dr., his school at Waterford, 2
 Prior, Major-General Upton, member of the South African Deportation Commission, 372
 Prussia, King William of, declines to receive Benedetti, 18
 Quantocks, the, 414
Quarterly Review, article on British Rule in Egypt, 424-38
 Quetta, 258
 Quiraing Mountain, 12
 Rabanitza (or Rivaritz) Pass, 80
 Radvil, 79
 Rahmanli, rose-culture at, 79
 Rahmanli-Derben, 103
 Ramid Tchiftlik, barracks of, 61
 Ramleh, defensive measures at, 151-3; reconnaissance from, 153
 Ranelagh, Lord, 24
 Ras-et-Tin, batteries, 153
 Rathmore, Lord, 413; at Trinity College, Dublin, 4
 Red Cross Society, 398; Committee formed, 399; conference at St. Petersburg, 400; non-religious character of the emblem, 404; at London, 405; Exhibition, 406; history of the, 440-5
 Red Sea, 45, 410; lighting of the, 242
 Reid, Captain, his account of the voyage to New Brunswick in the *Victoria*, 7-9
 Renault, M., at the Conference of Red Cross Societies, 400
 Reykjavic, 13
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, founds The Club, 371
 Rhine, the, 28
 Rhodes, Cecil, erects a statue of Jan van Riebeeck, 439
 Rhodes Trustees, their support of the South African Colonisation Society, 443

- Rhodope, 74 ; survey of, 109
 Riebeek, Jan van, expedition
 under, at the Cape, 439 ;
 statue erected to his memory,
 439
 Rilo, Monastery of, 99, 110 ;
 visit to, 99-102
 Rilo-Selo, 99
 Rilsko, 110
 Rion, 115
 Ripon, Lord, at Hickleton, 49
 Ripp, Baron de, member of the
 Bulgarian Frontier Commis-
 sion, 57 ; at Constantinople,
 57 ; at Banja, 79 ; Vienna,
 121
 Riviera, coast, defences of the,
 51
 Roberts, Lord, his reorganisa-
 tion of the Headquarters
 Staff, 350 ; plot against, 373
 Roberts, Miss Wynne, 170
 Robertson, Lieut.-Col. W. R.,
 333
 Rodosto, 43, 63, 103
 Rome, 47, 50
 Rose-culture at Rahmanli, 79
 Ross, Lieut.-Col. Sir John, of
 Bladensburg, 71
 Ross-shire mountains, 12
 Roumania, declares war against
 Turkey, 34
 Roumano-Bulgarian frontier,
 71
 Roumelia, Eastern, 36
 Roustan Bey, Chief of the
 Police, captain of a band of
 brigands, 132, 136 ; defeated,
 137
 Rowton, Lord, 53 *n.*
 Royal Geographical Society,
 Fellow of, 366
 Royle, Charles, "The Egyptian
 Campaigns of 1882-99," 146
 Rupee, fall in the value of, 142,
 147
 Russell, Lord Odo, 120 ; at the
 Berlin Congress, 53
 Russell, Sir William, 23
 Russia, war with Turkey, 34 ;
 troops enter Bulgaria, 34 ;
 capture Plevna, 34 ; head-
 quarters at Tchatalja, 35 ;
 intrigues in Afghanistan, 240 ;
 strength of the navy, 262
 Russia, Czar of, his proposal of
 the Peace Conference, 303
 Russia, Empress Marie Feo-
 dorovna of, presents the Red
 Cross medal to Sir J. Ardagh,
 402 *n.* ; her gift to the Society,
 406
 Russo-Japanese War, 402
 Rustchuk, 87 ; siege of, 34
 Rustchuk-Kainardji, 65
 Rutherford, Dr., at the Geneva
 Convention of 1864, 446
 Saarbruck, 29
 Sackville, Lord, 23 *n.*
 Saddyk, Ismail Pasha, 221 *n.*
 See Moufettish
 Salamis, 46
Salamis, H.M.S., 145 ; anchors
 off Limasol, 146
 Salisbury, Lord, British Pleni-
 potentiary at Constantinople,
 33 ; Foreign Secretary, 36 ;
 issues the Circular Dispatch
 of April 1st, 36 ; at the
 Berlin Congress, 53 ; on the
 services rendered by Sir J.
 Ardagh at the Hague Con-
 ference, 323
 Salisbury, Hostel and Maternity
 Home, of the Colonisation
 Society, 442
 Salisbury Plain, manœuvres
 on, 366
 Salonika, 104, 140
 Salween River, 241
 Salzburg, 37
 Samakov, 76, 102, 109
 Sandison, Sir Alfred, 126
 Sandwith, Major, at Cairo, 163
Sappho, cruise to Iceland in the,
 11-13
 Sarembey, 102
 Sarkamatto, 205
 Sartoris, 125
 Sasa, hamlet of, 106, 108

- Sass, Baron de, 95
 Saxony, Crown Prince of, 24 *n.*, 25
 Schleswig - Holstein, Princess Christian of, President of the South African Colonisation Society, 443
 Schneider, Lieutenant, 77
 Schneur, Captain, at Banja, 79
 Schoefer, Major, 173
 Sclater, Major, ordered to Halfa, 204
 Scoble, Sir Andrew, 251
 Scotland, 29
 Scott, Rear-Admiral Sir Percy Moreton, 155
 Scutari, 37
 Sedan, 29
 Seine, the, 19
 Selborne, Lord, at Hickleton, 49
 Serajevo, 416
 Servia, war with Turkey, 33 ; peace concluded, 33 ; disregard of the armistice, 40 ; number of men, 41 ; review of the military situation, 415-18
 Sevastopol, 115, 261
 Seymour, Sir Beauchamp, 151
 Seymour, Lord William, 367
 Shan States, 240
 Shankaray, Mohammed, 184
 Shayah tribe, 186
 Shenovo, grove of, 80
 Sherafeddine, Captain, 107, 108
 Shipka Pass, 34, 43 ; frontier settled, 81 ; maps of the, 47
 Shumla, 87
 Siam, 240
 Sicily, 368
 Sierra Leone Rebellion, 294
 Sikkim, unrest in, 240, expedition to, in 1888, 258
 Silistria, 64, 66
 Simla, climate of, 250
 Simmons, Field-Marshal Sir Linton, on the Committee on Fortifications, 16 *n.* ; at the Berlin Congress, 52 ; chief Military Technical Delegate at the Berlin Conference of 1880, 120 ; his ode, 121 ; Governor of Malta, 192 *n.* ; on the relief of Gordon, 192 *n.*
 Simmons, Lady, 121
 Simmons, Miss, 121
 Sinai Peninsula boundary, 390
 Sinkat, 171
 Sipoc, 75
 Skobeleff, General, 75
 Skye, island of, 12
 Slade, Captain, 173
 Slade, Montague, killed at the battle of El Teb, 175
 Slidell, Mr., arrested, 6 ; released, 9
 Sliven, 84
 Sliven-Khotel, 104
 Smith, W. H., Secretary of State for War, 228
 Snagge, Sir Thomas, at Trinity College, Dublin, 4
 Snow, Major, 194
 Snowdon, ascent of, 365
 Socotra, island of, 261
 Sofia, 92
 Soltau, Lieut., killed at the battle of Ginnis, 209
 Somali coast, 260
 Somaliland Protectorate, operations in, 360
 Soukoun, 114
 Spain, Crown of, candidate for the, 18
 Spion Kop, 393
 Spithead Forts, 9
 "Spoon, Lay of the Wooden," 121, 419-23
 Staal, M. de, at the Hague Conference, 308
 Stanhope, Mr., 230, on Sir J. Ardagh's work in the Home defences, 252 *n.*
 Steel, Colonel, 22
 Stefano, San, peace signed at, 35
 Stephens, "Beauty," 74
 Stephenson, Gen., Sir Frederick

- 142, 191; on the Suakim-Berker route, 192; takes part in the second Nile Expedition, 203; at Assuan, 204; Halfa, 212
- Stern-wheel steamers, construction of, at Cairo, 195; completion, 196
- Stewart, Gen. Sir Herbert, 142; in command of the cavalry in the expedition to the Sudan, 172; occupies Handub, 183
- Stockholm, 116
- Stokes, Sir John, 408
- Stone Pasha, 153
- Stopford, Colonel, 230
- Stornoway, 12
- Straits Settlements, 260
- Strangford, Lady, 43
- Strasburg, 27
- Struma Valley, 104
- Suakin, 173; making of a railway to Berber, 191
- Submarine Telegraphs, Commission on, 361
- Sudan, 45; expedition to, 142, 172; policy of abandoning, 218; evacuation, 433; reconquest, 434
- "Sudan Campaign, Official History of the," 193 *n.*, 198
- Suez Canal, in the hands of the British navy, 155; construction of, 427
- Suez Canal Company, 406; Director of the, 364; meetings in Paris, 405; number of Directors, 407; tonnage question, 407; conference at Constantinople, 408; "The London Agreement," 408; *Residences Administratives*, 409; purchase of shares, 427, 453; history of, 450-3; opened, 452; length, 452
- Suleiman Pasha, 34; his formal entry into Barakli, 99
- Suleiman Hakki Pasha, 94
- Sumnatitza, 79
- Sunbeam*, the yacht, 71
- Sun-dial at Glynllivon, 265
- Surêsnès, 24
- Sutherland, Sir Thomas, Vice-President of the Suez Canal Company, 407; on the loss of Sir J. Ardagh, 114
- Sveaborg, 116; defences of, 116
- Sveti Nicola Pass, 37
- Swaine, General, Military Attaché at Constantinople, 122; member of the Evacuation Commission of the Turco-Greek Frontier, 128
- Sweet-water Canal, 407
- Sylvester, Professor, at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, 5
- Syra, 261
- Table Bay, 439
- Tahir Pasha, 94; at Banja, 79
- Tamai, battle of, 174 *n.*, 176-81; number of killed and wounded, 181
- Tamanib, march on, 187
- Tamar*, 147
- Tambuk, march on, 186
- Tashkessen, 91; battle of, 91
- Tatar-Bazardjik, 75, 102, 104
- Tatar-Oglu-Bazardjik, 64
- Tchai Agzy, 139
- Tchatalja, 35
- Tcherkess-keui, ruins of, 79
- Tekir Dag, cases of brigandage in, 63
- Telegraphic communication, inquiry into, 297
- Tel-el-Kebir, battle of, 145 *n.*, 157; railway department, difficulties of the, 159; successful operations, 160
- Tcl-el-Mahuta, 157
- Tenda, Col di, frontier line at, 51
- Teneriffe, Peak of, sketch of, 382
- Tenterden, Lord, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, 121

- Teso Bey Han, 134
 Tewfik, appointed Khedive of Egypt, 166
 Tewfik Bey, Governor of Suakin, defeated, 171
 Thebaw, King of Burma, his deposition, 258
 Therapia, 105, 110
 Thessalian provinces, occupied, 118
 Thompson, Sir Ralph, 228, 252
 Thompson, Lieut., 150
 Thorshaven, 12
 Tibet, 255
 Tiflis, 111, 115
 Tirnova, 43
 Tokar, relief of, 171, 172
 Tonkin, 259
 Topographical and Statistical Department, 271
Transbordeur, or ferry, 368
 Transport, difficulties of, 85
 "Transvaal Boers from a Military Point of view," memorandum on, 334
 Travellers' Club, 365
 Trebizond, 111
Trent affair, 6; concluded, 9
 Tricala, Chief of the Police at, adopts the profession of brigand, 132
 Trimblestown, Baron, 16 n.
 Trinity College, Dublin, 4
 Trinkitat, 173, 174
 Trotter, Colonel Sir Henry, 71
 Tübingen, experiments on the Dum-Dum bullet at, 313-5
 Tundja, valley of the, 81
 Tunis, 368
 Turco-Greek frontier delimitation, 120-5, 131-41; members of the Commission, 128; difficulties of the survey, 131; suspicions of the Turks, 131; obstructive tactics, 132; at Zarkos, 137
 Turkey, war with Servia, 33; peace concluded, 33; war with Russia, 34; fortifications of the frontier, 102-4; condition of, 111; characteristics of the soldiers, 112, 135; the peasants, 112, 114; religion, 113; moral precepts of the Koran, 113; deterioration of the fleet, 115, 262; negotiations with Greece, 119; Young Turks' revolution, suppression, 126, 265; review of the military situation, 415-18
 Turkey, Abdul Aziz, Sultan of, his misrule, 32; deposed, 32; death, 32
 Turkey, Sultan of, audience of, 261; his character, 263; system of espionage, 263; his adoption of the new rules for the Suez Canal dues, 408
 Turks, headquarters of the Army at Morava River, 39; number of men, 41; oppressions, 93; feudal aristocracy, 94; women, 94
 Tutchinitza Valley, 90
 Tvarditza or (Ferdish) Pass, 83
 Uganda Mutiny, 294
 Umbela expedition, 258
 United Service Club, 365
 United Service Institution, lecture at, 31
 United States, Civil War, 6
 Upperton, Frank, his tour in Norway, 365
 Vadsoe, 364
 Varna, 64, 69
 Velika Bistriza, 78
 Venezuela, 293
 Verbitza, 86, 104
 Verde, Cape, 383
Verona, the transport, 368
 Versailles, preliminaries of peace signed at, 22
Vesta, the Austrian Lloyd steam-ship, 66
 Victoria, Queen, her patronage of the British Women's Emigration Society, 441

- Victoria*, the, 6; voyage to New Brunswick, 7-9; condition, 7; at Plymouth, 9; refitted and re-christened, 9; construction of, 196
 Vid River, 90
 Vidos, 61
 Vienna, 37, 121
 Villiers, Sir J. H. de, 394
 Vincent, Lieut. E. Edgar, member of the Evacuation Commission of the Turco-Greek Frontier, 128
 Vischok, 38
 Vivian, Sir H., at the Jubilee Review of the Fleet, 231
 Vlack muleteers, their ill-will, 135
 Voluntary aid in foreign countries, organisation for, 400
 Vrania, 104
 Vyse, Howard, killed in action, 154
- Wady Halfa, 204
 "Wait-a-bit" thorn, 139
 Wales, Prince of, at Vienna, 122
 Walker, Gen. Sir Beauchamp, 23
 Wall, Governor, his treatment of a negro soldier, 383
 Wallace, Major, at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, 158; on Sir J. Ardagh's successful working of the railway, 160 *n.*
 Walsham, Sir John and Lady, 255
 War, codification of laws of, 318-22
 War Office, changes caused by the reorganisation, 272-5; relations with the Military Intelligence Department, 349
Warren Hastings, the, 249
 Washburne, Mr., 22
 Waterford, Lady Louisa, 3
 Waterford, Co., 1
 Waziristan, 259
 Wedel, Count, member of the Bulgarian Frontier Commission at Banja, 79
 West Indies, trip to the, 366
 West, Mr. Sackville, 23
 Westminster, Dean of, 267
 Whales, bottle-nosed, battue of, 12
 White, Captain, 367
 White, Sir George, 252
 White, Sir William, minister at Bucharest, 122
 Whitehouse, Mr. Cope, his discoveries at the Fayum, 220
 Whyte-Melville, W., 4
 Widin, 37, 38
 Wilberforce, Archdeacon, 267
 Wilkins, C. A., member of the South African Deportation Commission, 372
 Williams, Col. Albert, 231
 Wilson, Major-Gen. Sir Charles, 70
 Wilson, Fleetwood, 252
 Wilson's Creek, battle of, 6
 Winchester, invoice at, 225
 Windward Islands, 366
 Wingate, Sir Reginald, on the number killed in the battle of El Teb, 175 *n.*
 Wodehouse, Hon. Henry, first Secretary at the English Embassy, at Paris, 20
 Wolff-Mukhtar Convention, 432
 Wolseley, Lord, 161, 191; his instructions to Sir J. Ardagh, 145; at Alexandria, 154; adoption of the Nile route for the relief of Gordon, 193; in command of the expedition, 193; at Korti, 199; at a Conference on the new Mobilisation scheme, 230; at the Jubilee Review of the Fleet, 231; his cruise to the Crimea, 261; Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, 265; relations with Sir J. Ardagh, 276; at Glynllivon, 365
 Wolski, Captain de, 105; member of the Turco-Greek

- Frontier Commission, 128 ;
offered the Order of the
" Croix du Sauveur," 141
- Wood, Field-Marshal Sir
Evelyn, 48, 145, 231 ; in
command at Aldershot,
251 ; cruise to the Crimea,
261 ; Quartermaster-General,
276
- Wood, Major-Gen. Sir Elliott,
149 ; at the Berlin Confer-
ence of 1880, 120
- Wood, Frederick, 48
- Wood, Major Henry, 48
- Wood, Major, his description
of Baker Pasha's wound at
the battle of El Teb, 174 *n.*
- Woodforde, Mrs., 13
- Woolwich, 1 ; Royal Military
Academy at, 5
- Worthy, Stuart, 252
- Wouldham Camp, 29
- Wurmbrand, Capt. Count,
member of the Bulgarian
Frontier Commission, 57 ; at
Constantinople, 57
- Württemberg, King of, 25
- Wynn, Hon. Frederick, 265 ;
tour in Norway, 365
- Yeland-jik, 67
- Yokurul, 109
- Yunan, 255
- Zaicar, 37
- Zareba, 187
- Zarkos, 137
- Zeila, port, 260
- Zygos Pass, 135

Date Due

[illegible]

CAT. NO. 23 233

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

VR

DA 565 .AS72 A7
Ardagh, Susan (Hamilton)
The life of Major-General Sir

010101 000



0 1163 0216245 2
TRENT UNIVERSITY

DA565 .A72A7
Ardagh, Susan (Hamilton) lady.
The life of Major-General Sir
John Ardagh.

DATE	ISSUED TO
	136193

136193

Ardagh, Susan

